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JPRS-EPS-85-010

18 January 1985

19981112 087

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 January 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PRL-GDR COOPERATION, JOINT MILITARY TRAINING DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Janusz Borkowski: "Fraternal Arms of the Polish and East German Forces: International Cooperation"]

[Text] The Silesian Military District proving ground. The infantry and tankmen of the Polish Peoples' Army [LWP] and the subdivisions of the East German National Peoples' Army [GDR NAL] cooperating with them are performing training tasks in concentration areas. The second group of the exercising units is a combat formation of fraternal armies. Its task is to attack from a designated boundary, break the enemy's resistance deep within its defense and seize a strongly fortified urbanized area.

Friendly training contacts among the soldiers of the LWP and the GDR NAL have a history that dates back over 28 years. The tank crew members of the German Antifascist Fighters Gubin Tank Regiment and the GDR NAL General Karol Swierczewski Regiment have especially close and cordial ties. The working cooperation of both divisions includes the exchange of leadership and training and party and youth work expertise as well as joint participation in various kinds of military ventures, occasional ceremonies, and athletic shows for tourists.

Likewise, the soldiers of the Peoples' Army 12th Mechanized Division collaborate with their comrades in arms in the mechanized unit of the GDR NAL. The instructional exchange of subdivisions and joint solving of training tasks are its broadest plane.

Besides contacts on land and in the air, seamen of the fraternal fleets guarding the peace and safety of the Baltic actively collaborate every day. The crews of our navy's and the GDR Navy's battleships often perform joint exercises on the sea proving grounds, and jointly fulfill combat duty in designated water regions. The crews of the base trawlers of both fleets in which Obermeister Paul Wihlberg and Chief Warrant Officer Tadeusz Pojanski are serving maintain very close ties with each other.

The joint exercises of the Warsaw Pact armies are special proof of combat mastery and cooperation and an opportunity to demonstrate and deepen the fraternity of arms. During these exercises, the soldiers of the LWP and GDR NAL,

along with their Soviet comrades in arms, actively cooperate in various aspects of military life and training. There have been many of these exercises in the history of joint contacts. These include: "Shield-76," "Fraternity of Arms-80," "Friendship-82," and "Shield-84."

The exercise under which the LWP and GDR NAL soldiers performed joint tasks on the proving ground of the Silesian Military District took place at the beginning of this year under the cryptonym "Friendship-84." Polish subdivisions along with the GDR NAL Paul Hegenbart Motorized Regiment realized various ventures on tactical lines and in target practice.

#### Exchange of Expertise

Each exercise of the fraternal armies, regardless of scope, is an excellent opportunity for the exchange of expertise among comrades in arms. Know-how is intensively exchanged before the execution of tasks on the training battlefield. The point is that the most valuable skills are practiced during joint exercises. This considerably enriches the store of knowledge and competence of participating commanders and specialists.

Such was the case during the "Friendship-84" exercise. Commanders of mechanized subdivisions and tanks, communications personnel, driver mechanics of combat vehicles, artillerymen, and political workers of the LWP and GDR NAL came together. During these meetings, Second Lieutenants Mariusz Oglodek and Kazimierz Rakowski became acquainted with Captain Gerd Reiman and Second Lieutenant Michael Nippe. Together they worked out the details of combat cooperation and pondered the methods and means of achieving the best results of tactical and shooting instruction for the subdivisions.

A working council of political workers, organized by comrades from the GDR NAL, took an unusually interesting course. They presented their expertise in tracing the directions of party and political work during exercises and in executing tasks resulting from these directions. Lieutenant Colonel Peter Gutsch spoke in this vein about the preparation of subdivision instructors for working in an actual combat situation, about the forms and methods of cooperation of the fraternal armies in this area, and also about the importance of properly functioning communications equipment for the organization and execution of party and political work during maneuvers.

However, the Polish comrades shared with their NAL colleagues their views and experience in organizing and guiding party and political work during an offensive. Due to the high maneuverability of the subdivisions, this kind of combat operation requires that active party and youth members and permanent workers be excellently prepared to accomplish the tasks before them.

#### Combat Cooperation

Under cover of night the cooperating subdivisions of the LWP and GDR NAL assumed their assigned positions. Their commanders received detailed information about the enemy's strength and combat formation from reconnaissance organs and from the enemy's own first-thrust effort.

The offensive began in early morning. Under air and artillery cover of the LWP, the men under Second Lieutenants Ogrodek and Rakowski, with the infantry of the GDR NAL commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Dieter Winter, moved to the front.

Their operation was characterized by great dynamism and highly accurate marksmanship--all the targets were destroyed by the first missiles--and by the ideal protection of contact between the Polish and GDR units. Deserving recognition are the driver mechanics of combat vehicles, who drove their machines flawlessly in difficult terrestrial conditions with limited visibility.

Simultaneously, a tactical assault was launched at the enemy's rear. After abandoning the helicopters, shock troops led by Junior Warrant Officer Andrzej Zaleski contained the enemy, smoothing the way for the attacking subdivisions to complete the task.

After eliminating the tank counterattack, the combat formation of allies pounded resistance points deep within the defense and gave chase. In this phase of the battle expert skills were demonstrated by the tank crew commanded by Corporal Andrzej Sobkiewicz and the cooperating GDR NAL squad under Corporal Dieter Taubert.

The decisive action of the comrades in arms of the GDR NAL in the combat formation wing enabled the Polish infantry to execute efficiently its task of seizing a fortified area.

Many months of training by the collaborating soldiers of the fraternal armies culminated in this training episode, which lasted barely 20 minutes. Its results once again confirmed that the comrades in arms of the LWP and GDR NAL show a high level of combat mastery and are a reliable link of the socialist defense coalition, the main force of which is the powerful Soviet Army.

Participation in the joint exercises and ideological ventures and the high evaluation by superiors of the soldiers' work evoked a number of reactions from the participants. Here are two of them observed after the training battle:

"Being on the proving ground of the Silesian Military District, and especially organizing and performing training tasks, is a progressive and valuable experience for me," emphasized Georg Loeffler of the GDR NAL. "Cooperation with the Poles confirmed that they know how to prepare for execution of soldierly and allied duties. I would also like to mention the sincerity with which we were treated at every step and the help our Polish friends gave us in solving various problems of military life."

"Our collaborating Paul Hegenbart regiment ranks at the top of the GDR NAL land forces. The soldiers of this unit fully confirmed this high rank during the combat test," says the commander of the Silesian Military District unit. "The high level of jointly executed tasks enriched our experience and know-how, especially in the area of planning and organization of combat operations."



We and our friends are convinced that the exercise helped increase combat efficiency, improve the cooperation of fraternal armies and deepen and strengthen the fraternity of arms between the Polish Forces and the GDR National Peoples' Army.

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CSO: 2600/291

# SHIFTS SEEN IN WARSAW PACT POLICIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Dec 84 p 11

[Article by Prof Dr Jens Hacker, instructor of political science at the University of Regensburg: "What Is Becoming of the Warsaw Pact? The Soviet Bloc Faces the Renewal of the Alliance Treaty which Expires 1985"]

[Text] The Soviet leaders have lately and with conspicuous and intensive emphasis indicated the importance of the Warsaw Pact, the multilateral military alliance of the Eastern Bloc. On the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the October Revolution, for example, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said on 6 November 1984 in Moscow that "the organization of the Warsaw Pact—a voluntary alliance of sovereign states" had now been standing for almost 30 years as an invincible fortress guarding the achievements of socialism. It reliably serves the cause of the consolidation of international security." In mid-November, Marshal Victor Kulikov, supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact, took a trip around several of the member countries. He discussed with the respective political and military leaders in Prague, East Berlin and Warsaw "the further cooperation between the national armies" of the Warsaw Pact states. Lastly, the CPSU Central Committee sent an admonitory cable to the Romanian Communists who had met for their Thirteenth Congress on 19 November. In this telegram the Kremlin called for the continuing reinforcement of political and military cooperation in the Warsaw Alliance.

The Soviet delegation should have been highly satisfied with the address by Romanian state and party chief Nicolae Ceausescu at the beginning of the party congress in Bucharest. He pointed out that the Warsaw Pact will expire next year. Ceausescu regretted that no agreement had so far been achieved on the simultaneous dissolution of the two multilateral military alliances in Europe. It was necessary therefore to consider an extension of the term of the Warsaw Pact treaty. Ceausescu called for the approval in principle and the authorization of his party's Central Committee together with the other states of the Warsaw Pact to adopt the relevant decisions. However, even when the extension of the term of the Warsaw Pact had been decided, Romania would resolutely advocate the creation of the proper conditions for the dissolution of the two "military blocs" in Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 14 May 1955 which established the multilateral military organization of the Eastern

Bloc as an eight power pact, ends on 3 June 1985. As per Article 10, the treaty went into effect on the day the last ratification document was deposited in Warsaw. Poland, the GDR, the CSSR, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Romania had handed their ratification documents to the Polish Government between 19 May and 3 June. Albania waited until 4 June 1955 to add its ratification document.

Article 11 of the Warsaw Pact provides for a term of 20 years. "It will remain in effect for another 10 years for all contracting parties who, 1 year before the end of this term, do not hand over to the Government of the People's Republic of Poland a declaration terminating this treaty." Consequently the pact could have been terminated at the latest on 3 June 1974 with effect on 3 June 1975. As no member country used the opportunity, the treaty expires on 3 June next; it does not provide for another automatic extension.

According to the general international law on treaties, the expiry of a treaty relieves the parties of the obligation to continue fulfilling the treaty. Consequently all treaties concluded for a specific period of time automatically cease to be effective at the end of the term agreed, unless the term has earlier been extended. International law in West and East agrees on the end of treaties with a limited term, and which do not include an extension clause.

Though the text of the Warsaw Pact of 14 May 1955 was phrased with an eye on the North Atlantic Treaty of 4 April 1949 and was able to take into account those provisions which had proved useful in the 6 years of NATO development, the Soviet leaders did not consider it opportune in 1955 to adopt the flexible clauses relating to the term of the NATO treaty. NATO was established in 1949 for 20 years; the treaty provides for a 1 year notification of termination following the original 20 years. In addition it offers the partners an opportunity after a 10-year term of the treaty or any time thereafter, at the request of one of them, to consult with one another "about reviewing the treaty, taking into account the circumstances at the time touching upon peace and the security of the North Atlantic region..."

We must not forget that, according to the original intentions of the eight Warsaw Pact signatory powers, the alliance was later to be converted into a "system of collective security in Europe." In the preamble, the signatories affirm their wish to "create a system of collective security in Europe, based on the participation of all European states, regardless of their social and constitutional system." And Article 11 establishes that the Warsaw Pact is to be rescinded "in case of the creation of a system of collective security in Europe and the conclusion of an all-European treaty on collective security serving this objective." The provision does not mention the substance such a treaty on European security should have and how it should come about. In any case, the final document enacted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on 1 August 1975 has not been accepted by the Eastern side as a replacement for the Warsaw Pact organization. The "process of detente," initiated by the CSCE arouses little expectations to the effect that the two

multilateral military alliances in Europe might become superfluous in the foreseeable future.

It is significant that the dissolution of the two multilateral military alliances in Europe, demanded earlier with varying intensity by the Warsaw Pact states, was at no time the subject of discussion at the CSCE negotiations. Even though the states of the Warsaw Pact are tied to one another by a solid network of bilateral treaties of alliance, these are unable to fulfill either the military or the political function of the multilateral military alliance.

Though power political circumstances in the Soviet Bloc do not leave Romania a choice with regard to its advocacy of the renewal of the Warsaw Pact, it is surprising that Ceausescu used the occasion of his party's Thirteenth Congress to become the first state and party chief of an Eastern Bloc state so resolutely to tackle the delicate issue of the Warsaw Pact's future. Of course the renewal of the Warsaw Pact had long been a foregone conclusion for Romania, too. That situation is unchanged even by the fact that the country has gradually diminished its military cooperation in the alliance ever since the forcible finish to the "Prague Spring" in August 1968 by the intervention of five Warsaw Pact countries and claims the sole right to decide the issue of national defense. It would be idle to speculate why Ceausescu used the forum of the party congress to himself so to narrow his possible options in the negotiations on the renewal of the Warsaw Pact, because even the decision on a contractual extension without textual revision requires unanimity.

The Soviet leaders will not allow the Warsaw Pact to expire on 3 June 1985, but they have not so far informed the outside world of their intentions. Two options are available to them and their alliance partners: They may either extend the Warsaw Treaty as it is or conclude a new treaty reflecting the political and military facts created since its inception. The text of the Warsaw Treaty has not been supplemented or modified once during its almost 30 years of life. It no longer meets the realities. That applies to the political and military leadership structure as well as to the political function of the seven-power alliance. The Warsaw Alliance is the only multilateral organization of the narrower "socialist community" helping the Soviet leaders--in addition to the military function--as far as possible to coordinate the foreign and "bloc" policy of the Soviet Bloc.

It would correspond to earlier Soviet bilateral treaty practice to replace the Warsaw Treaty by a new pact taking into account the military and political changes. Upon the renewal of its bilateral pacts on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance concluded with the states of the Warsaw Alliance, the Soviet Union has prevailed--with one exception--to have new pacts replacing these treaties, conceived for 20 years with an extension clause. The single exception is the assistance pact concluded for a term of 20 years as long ago as 12 December 1943 between the Soviet Union and the CSSR. This has an extension clause and was duly extended by 20 years with the option of another extension in the protocol of 27 November 1963. By the conclusion of the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of 6 May 1970, the

Soviet Union adjusted its bilateral treaty practice to the changed situation vis-a-vis Czechoslovakia also.

As the Soviet Bloc is a very differentiated structure, and new constellations have tended to evolve just lately, the Soviet leadership--operating in a transitional phase--is bound to thoroughly consider whether it should recruit the other partners in the Warsaw Pact for a revised formulation of the multilateral alliance. Moscow is well aware that it would subject the "bloc" solidarity of several of its alliance partners to a severe test if it were to attempt to make prevail its notions of the political and military function of the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union is unlikely to have any difficulties in getting the agreement of the other partners in the alliance for a revision of the Warsaw Pact provisions on membership and the leadership structure of the alliance. Any farther reaching attempts by Moscow to carry its notions of the foreign and "bloc" political function in a renewed Warsaw Treaty look like being doomed to failure. The same applies to the Soviet leadership's unreasonable demand for expanding the regional scope of the Warsaw Alliance and thereby adapt it to the bilateral alliances concluded within the Soviet Bloc since 1967. As far as the Kremlin is concerned, it is another weakness of the Warsaw Treaty that it obligates the members only to multilateral consultation rather than coordination "on all important international issues."

For more than 13 years, 8 countries were members of the Warsaw Pact: Albania, Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, the CSSR and Hungary. Since 13 September 1968 it has only been a seven power pact; on that day Albania terminated its membership in protest of the military intervention in the CSSR by five member countries--Romania had not participated in the action. Albania which early on opted for Beijing in the ideological and power political conflict between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, had not taken an active role in the Eastern military alliance since 1961. As no return by Tirana to the Warsaw Pact organization is to be foreseen, the remaining seven signatories behaved rather unrealistically in not revising before 3 June 1985 at least in this respect the Warsaw Pact signed on 14 May 1955 by Prime Minister Mehmet Shehu on behalf of Albania.

Two other events demonstrate the extent of the change in the political situation since 1955: Official representatives of the People's Republic of China attended both the preparatory conference in Moscow at end 1954 and the constituent session of the Warsaw Pact in May 1955 in Warsaw. On the day the Warsaw Pact was signed, the Red Chinese delegate delivered an official statement by which Beijing declared its solidarity with the Warsaw Pact and promised to back it. Until the breach with Moscow, Beijing cooperated with the alliance politically but not militarily. The Kremlin is well aware that the People's Republic of China will not repeat its 14 May 1955 statement at the renewal of the Warsaw Alliance.

The GDR leadership, in particular, has cause to profoundly reflect whether the extension of the Warsaw Treaty without textual modifications is appropriate to its intra-German policy. When the Warsaw Pact was introduced, Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl issued a statement that is part of the treaty. On 14 May 1955 Grotewohl declared: "Upon signing the treaty to hand...the GDR Government

assumes that reunited Germany will be freed of the obligations entered into by a part of Germany in military-political treaties and agreements concluded before reunification." The 14th May 1955 statement does not any longer correspond to the changed situation either, because the "German issue" is neither constitutionally nor politically "open" as far as the GDR leadership is concerned, and official comments from East Berlin no longer mention a possible political unification of Germany even on a communist basis.

The text of the Warsaw Treaty insufficiently outlines the institutional forms of multilateral cooperation and no longer responds to the far reaching changes in the political and military leadership structure that have occurred since. The Political Advisory Committee acts as the political leadership organ; it coordinates the management of the Eastern military alliance, and its decisions must be unanimous. The supreme political organ of the Alliance used the possibility mentioned in Article 6 of the Warsaw Pact to create ancillary organs. It set up the Permanent Commission and the United Secretariat, both domiciled in Moscow. While the Permanent Commission drafts recommendations on foreign policy issues, the United Secretariat administers the technical sections that serve the implementation of Warsaw Pact objectives.

To as efficiently as possible coordinate the foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member states, organizational forms have evolved in the course of years, which are not provided for in the actual text of the treaty. They include above all the conferences of senior party and state officials of the member states and ad hoc consultations among the respective competent ministers and their deputies. In view of the fact that the foreign ministers of the alliance used to regularly meet even before, the decision by the Political Advisory Committee of 26 November 1976 to establish a committee of the ministers for foreign affairs as its organ, represents merely the institutionalization of an existing practice.

Just like the NATO Treaty, the text of the Warsaw Pact reveals very little about the military leadership structure. The structure of the military organization settled in Article 9 of the NATO Treaty was not completely fleshed out until 1951/1952 without the text of the treaty being in fact amended. Similarly the military leadership structure of the Eastern military alliance was totally restructured in March 1969 without the text of the Warsaw Treaty being adjusted to this situation. Until that time, the United Command and the staff of the United Armed Forces were the only two military organs of the Warsaw Alliance, as provided in Article 5 of the Warsaw Treaty and the additional decision by the Warsaw Pact powers of 14 May 1955.

On 17 March 1969, the Political Advisory Council decided to set up three new organs. Ever since the committee of the defense ministers has been the most important military leadership organ. It is assisted by the new military council of the United Armed Forces. In addition to the defense ministers of the seven member states, the supreme commander and the chief of staff of the United Armed Forces are members of the committee of defense ministers.

Until 17 March 1969, the defense ministers of the member countries--in their capacity as supreme commanders of the respective national army--acted in the

united command as deputies to the supreme commander of the United Armed Forces. Following the 17 March 1969 decisions by the Political Advisory Committee, the defense ministers of the treaty states are no longer subordinated to the Soviet supreme commander of the United Armed Forces (as before the Budapest resolutions); together with their Soviet colleague they now represent the supreme military organ of the alliance. Ever since 1961, the defense ministers had anyway met regularly, so that the 17 March 1969 decisions merely institutionalized existing practice. The Soviet Union's strong position in the military leadership structure of the alliance resulted from the fact that the two key posts of supreme commander and chief of staff have hitherto always been held by high-ranking Soviet officers. The supreme commander also exercises the office of a first deputy Soviet defense minister.

In addition to the supreme commander and the chief of staff of the United Armed Forces, the deputy defense ministers of the treaty states are members of the military council of the United Armed Forces. The main function of the military council is to assist the united command and the committee of the defense ministers to arrive at their decisions. Hardly anything has been revealed so far about the function and method of operation of the technical committee of the United Armed Forces at the supreme commander, also created in March 1969.

The Soviet leaders are quite aware that they will not be able to carry their notions of a rephrasing of the Warsaw Pact in regard to several salient points. They are the issues of the scope of territorial application, the conversion of the consultation into a coordination clause and the foreign affairs and "bloc" political function of the Warsaw Alliance. The territorial scope of the Warsaw Pact is restricted to European countries. This is obvious not only from the preamble but also from Article 4 which postulates the obligation to render military assistance "in the case of armed aggression in Europe." The territorial scope of the Warsaw Pact does not extend to the Asian region of the Soviet Union--despite the general principle of international law by which treaties incorporate the entire national territory of their signatories.

In contrast to NATO, no problems of the membership of extra-European territories arise from the text of the Warsaw Pact. At the same time, whatever Moscow has been deprived of by the Warsaw Pact--in the case of a military conflict outside Europe to call upon the "fraternal states" for "fraternal aid"--, it has made up in the course of the renewal of the bilateral alliances with Bulgaria (12 May 1967), Hungary (7 September 1967), Czechoslovakia (6 May 1970), Romania (7 July 1970) and the GDR (7 October 1975), because the clauses of these alliances no longer restrict them to European territories.

Poland is the only exception. Its alliance with the Soviet Union of 8 April 1965 still spells out the old formula obligating both signatories to render assistance only in case of a "threat of aggression" looming from the "West German forces of militarism and revanchism or from another state allying itself with them." This clause, directed exclusively against the Federal Republic of Germany, has been an anachronism at the latest since the



conclusion of the German-Soviet Treaty of 12 August 1970 and the German-Polish Treaty of 7 December 1970, because the border settlements arrived at in both have "concreted" the renunciation of force. Even in the past, the allies of the USSR showed little inclination to expand the spatial scope of the Warsaw Treaty, limited to Europe, to extra-European regions. That is likely to not only apply to Romania alone, and certainly does not apply now. The smaller partners in the alliance are not interested in being drawn into extra-European conflicts by the Soviet Union.

Already at the time of Leonid Brezhnev's reign, Moscow largely if not completely succeeded in developing the Warsaw Alliance into the decisive multilateral authority which coordinates the entire foreign and "bloc" policy of the seven member states. It is to the credit of Romania alone that--despite the text of the Warsaw Treaty--the Kremlin has not yet been able to make prevail its notions of the political function of the alliance. Article 3 of the Warsaw Treaty provides that the signatories "consult on all important international issues touching upon their common interests and are guided therein by the interests of the strengthening of world peace and security."

This clause permits the discussion within the alliance of common foreign policy issues, not only military questions. On the other hand it does not lend itself to the definite conclusion that the alliance represents a forum for the coordination of the signatory states' foreign and "bloc" policy. In late November 1976, the Soviet Union used the 15th Meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Committee in Bucharest to obligate the six alliance partners to honor the formula of the "coordination of foreign political operations," Romania accepted only the formula reading "effective cooperation." No doubt we should not overestimate these linguistic nuances in view of the realities of power in the Eastern military alliance. On the other hand it would be a mistake to dismiss them entirely. It is certainly no accident that the Soviet Union's bilateral alliances with the Warsaw Pact States--excluding Romania--include clauses which impose obligations on the partner as to behavior aiming at common foreign policy actions in addition to mere consultations. Romania's special role in the narrower "socialist community" is also demonstrated by the fact that the pacts it signed with the CSSR in 1968, Poland and Bulgaria in 1970, the GDR and Hungary in 1972, all include only a simple consultation clause. Much more interesting is the fact that the same applies to the alliance concluded with the Soviet Union on 7 July 1970. This does not stipulate the obligation to common foreign political action either.

Also hopeless would be any Soviet endeavor to anchor in a revised treaty text the "bloc" internal function assigned the Warsaw Pact since the military intervention in the CSSR in August 1968. Since 1968 official Soviet comments always emphasize that the Warsaw Pact serves not only the defense of peace but also that of the "achievements of socialism." The nature of the alliance has changed fundamentally, because the Soviet Union is using it also to protect its own jurisdiction as far as possible from internal convulsions and to return insubordinate states to the proper path.



Though, in contrast to all bilateral pacts concluded since 1964, the Warsaw Pact is not based on the principles of "socialist internationalism," Moscow would like to obligate the alliance to adhere to these principles. Let us recall that the signatories of the 1955 Warsaw Treaty endeavored to raise the alliance to the same international standard as NATO. The aim to create a multilateral military alliance--just like NATO--based on the principles of the United Nations Charter directly forbade any thought of special relations with respect to international law within the organization.

Even though the Soviet position was in the past unconditionally backed from the political and international aspect by the GDR, for example, the latest efforts at emancipation in the Soviet Bloc certainly raise the question whether the GDR leaders are still interested in anchoring the principles of "socialist internationalism" in the text of a new Warsaw Treaty. In addition to Romania, the Hungarian leaders will probably try to avoid to explicitly fix in a modified treaty text the Soviet Union's claim to act as the "regulatory power" in the Warsaw Pact sphere.

Leonid Brezhnev's successors have variously and decidedly intimated that they also consider the political function of the Warsaw Pact to be that of coordinating the foreign and "bloc" policy of the member states. It would conform with their notions if the text of the Warsaw Pact were to be modified in the direction of the treaties of alliance concluded with the CSSR on 6 May 1970 and with the GDR on 7 October 1975. Both treaties state that "the support, consolidation and safeguard" of "socialist achievements" were "the common internationalist duty of the socialist countries." Romania, on the other hand, succeeded in avoiding this phrase in its pact with the Soviet Union, signed on 7 July 1970.

The fact that Moscow will not be willing at the renewal of the Warsaw Pact to allow the smaller partners in the alliance greater rights of codetermination and to reduce its own domination of the military leadership structure, probably caused Ceausescu to prefer an extension of the Warsaw Treaty to negotiations on the draft of a new treaty. Added to this is probably the perception that it will be easier to live with an extended Warsaw Treaty from the aspect of international law and politics than with a new treaty which, according to the wishes of the Soviet leaders, would formalize the foreign and "bloc" political function of the alliance, too.

Romania's attitude benefits the alliance partners who do not dare to openly join its confrontation with Moscow but who are interested not to allow their recently achieved though very limited foreign policy scope to be restricted once more by a newly formulated multilateral pact. Due to its unstable leadership structure, the Kremlin is evidently unable to act consonant with its former bilateral treaty practice and recruit the smaller alliance partners for the conclusion of a new multilateral pact.

11698  
CSO: 2300/171

SWEDISH REPORTER FINDS 'SURPRISING' WIDTH IN CULTURAL LIFE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 29 Nov 84 p 16

[Article by Carl-Gunnar Ahlen]

[Text] The thing that is special about socialist Albania, which today celebrates the 40th anniversary of its liberation from the Germans, is that its inhabitants have never been disappointed. Their mentality is the product of a markedly agrarian society, and there is little interest in foreign cultural manifestations. Domestic cultural life, on the other hand, is surprising in its breadth.

Carl-Gunnar Ahlen writes about music for SVENSKA DAGBLADET. He will be back with another article on musical life in Albania.

"Tirana speaks. The whole country hears the voice that is later carried by the airwaves all around the world, and in it is heard the revolution's victorious voice... 'This is Tirana.' Our Tirana speaks. That voice resounds today over all the Earth. That voice: a deluge for masters and oppressors and a whip for deceivers and hypocrites."

That is how Albanian poet Llazar Siliqi extols Radio Tirana in a dithyramb translated into Swedish by Ullmar Qvick. Every day in 23 languages--including Swedish--that propaganda transmitter preaches the message of Marxism-Leninism to the world. Actually, the very existence of Radio Tirana contradicts the widely held notion that Albania is inaccessible and a closed society.

The rest of the world's view that the country does not like to cultivate international contacts came about because of Albania's political line. Whether that line should be described as a striving after isolationism or independence depends on whether you are looking at the matter from the inside or the outside.

In 1948, scarcely 4 years after the founding of the socialist people's republic, Albania severed all agreements with Yugoslavia and its former brother-in-arms, Tito. Twelve years later, the Russians were sent packing, and in 1979, the Chinese were also forced to realize that the Albanian view of revisionism was unshakable. That left the little country--with an area smaller than that

of Sweden's Smaland but nonetheless a couple of days' journey in length and half a day's journey in width--alone in the world, with no defense pacts or economic alliances but also free of debt. Although development started from zero, the country's leader for 40 years--Enver Hoxha, the now 76-year-old party secretary of the Albanian Workers Party--has refused to accept foreign loans that would have threatened the country's independence.

When the country was liberated on 29 November 1944, it was as devastated as the Soviet Union. Its only asset was the legitimate pride of its 70,000 partisans over the fact that they had singlehandedly driven off first the Italians and then the fervently hated Germans. Before the war broke out, Albania had been the poorest country in Europe: a medieval theocratic-feudal peasant society where barely one-tenth of the population lived in small cities of no more than 25,000 or 30,000 inhabitants. Industry in the 1930's constituted only 1 percent of present-day capacity. In other words, town dwellers and workers were few in number compared to the poorly educated and generally illiterate rural population.

On the other hand, the conditions for socializing Albania from the ground up were very favorable. There was no bourgeoisie to oppose it, so efforts could be directed with full force against the former ruling class: the landowning beys and the representatives of the three religions--Islam, Greek Orthodoxy, and Roman Catholicism. During the land reform of 1946, the property of 9,000 beys was distributed to 70,000 poor families. And the end of the 1960's saw the abolition of religion, which article 55 of the Albanian Constitution places on a par with such other forbidden activities as fascism, antidemocracy, and antisocialism.

How was it possible to carry out what, by our standards, was such a ruthless atheistic reform? Perhaps the explanation is that the lost security of religion was replaced by greatly improved standards: faith was replaced by education and poverty was replaced by work and a guaranteed wage for everyone. At the same time that the mosques and churches were being demolished, all taxes were also abolished.

The roadside shrines of former times--from which small pictures of the Madonna gave strength to travelers on their dangerous journey through the mountainous and almost impassable landscape--have been replaced by cheerful red streamers performing the same function: comrade Hoxha gives new heart and encouragement in the mountain passes.

The feudal society was static, but today's socialist hierarchy is no less solid, with a carefully planned factor for change that is described as "progressive." That concept includes both economic growth and individual self-examination. But one principle is immovably fixed, and that is faith in the infinite benefits of the socialist system.

The thing that is special about socialist Albania is that its inhabitants have never been disappointed. In the course of one generation, they have worked their way up from poverty and food shortages lasting several months of the year to a level of food sufficiency which amply rivals that in the United States, at

least as far as wasting food is concerned. Eating everything on one's plate is regarded as a rude sign to one's host and hostess that they have been stingy with the food.

Wages are set according to a scale ranging from 500 to 1,200 leks per month. Those amounts do not go far abroad, but Albanians obviously do not dream of charter trips. Instead, they enjoy their vacations on the beach in Durres. One lek is worth about 1 Swedish krona, but purchasing power is 10 times greater, and that leaves plenty for private consumption after the low rents and day nursery fees have been paid. Several generations frequently live in the same apartment and share expenses just as they did in the old peasant society--a time that no one wants to go back to, however. Loneliness and nostalgia are concepts unknown in present-day Albania.

The living standard is raised not by raising wages but by lowering the price of certain essential items. But there is not much to buy in Tirana's plain department stores. Color TV sets and cassette players are beginning to appear, but there is still no domestic recording industry or stereo radio. Private automobiles are almost nonexistent because with very rare exceptions, all passenger cars belong to the state.

The Albanian mentality is not based on general hostility toward foreigners. It should be seen as a product of a markedly agrarian society. Urbanization has been allowed very cautiously so as not to harm family ties and standards. The old peasant society--of the same type that once existed in Sweden--is built on conservatism, solidarity, and shared values. Here there is no great curiosity concerning foreign cultural manifestations and no widespread desire to travel. In many respects, the Albanians have retained the peasant society's sound pragmatism as well as its spontaneous generosity and friendliness when they have not felt threatened.

But threatened is what they feel--threatened by their Yugoslav neighbors to the east, who badger the Albanian ethnic group in Kosovo and refuse to lay the last few kilometers of railroad track that could link the Albanian railway--built with tremendous difficulty--with the European system. And Albanian memory echoes with the footsteps of millions of invaders throughout history: Greeks, Romans, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Huns, Slavs, Byzantines, Turks, Italians, and Germans. Guns are always at the ready, and vigilance must never slacken. The people are brought up to be partisans.

Few countries have a population as aware of history as Albania's is. A measure of this is the 200 museums and 1,800 buildings preserved as historical monuments. Practically every conversation with a foreigner begins with what is the equivalent of "saying grace": a discourse on Albania's historical struggle. This can cause some irritation as one gradually learns the lesson by heart.

Thirty years ago, the indefatigable author Enver Hoxha wrote: "Our national culture must be socialist in content and national in form. It must be the property of the masses, serve the people, nurture them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, strengthen the power of the people, and embellish human life." An artist who honors that ideal is called "progressive." Bad art, on the other

hand, is characterized by the word "formalism," and the hunt for such manifestations keeps Albania's intellectuals busy.

In the West, formalism is associated with social realism and other socialist art. The Albanians condemn formalism because it denies contradictions and prevents people from seeing the correct context. Author Driter Agolli gives an example of formalism of the Soviet type: a stage play depicts a pair of newlyweds going to bed. Although those newlyweds would presumably have quite special problems of their own to solve, the play tries to depict a lively discussion of industrial production. That is how the Albanians stigmatize the tentative and the stereotyped. But here lies a paradox, because the Albanians, on the other hand, use art to illustrate certain social dogmas, meaning that art is naturally colored by its purpose. The purpose is the deciding factor.

Loni Papa wrote a stage play in 1966 that later became a classic: "The Girl From the Mountains." A couple of years later, it became the synopsis for a frequently performed ballet by Nikolla Zoraqui. The play pays tribute to the woman's heroism and the victory of literacy over the malevolent clergy that had been keeping the people in ignorance. The story about the woman teacher murdered by Catholic priests is said to be based on historical facts. But it was no coincidence that the play was written at the same time that the campaign against religion was beginning.

Other plays have more general social functions: to impress on people's minds the Albanian woman's relatively newly won freedom to choose the husband or occupation she wants. Albanian culture has one overall objective: to educate, raise people's consciousness, and remind them of their national identity.

The most gifted students go into the natural sciences. The long-range desire is to be completely independent economically, but, as one example, not all hydroelectric power is being used. The country would rather export electric current than waste it on street lighting in the outskirts of Tirana. A premium is placed on technical progress, while linguistics, for example, has to put up with the second-rate students.

Language instruction is of a high standard today, but there is a lack of dictionaries for minor languages--Swedish, for example. Translations of world literature make up only a negligible percentage of the thousands of books published in Albania every year at low prices. The figure of 150 books in total has been mentioned. People are familiar with Ibsen, but not with Strindberg. And the same situation prevails in music: Sibelius and Grieg are played, but not Debussy or Schonberg. The reason for this, naturally, is the Albanian Nomenklatura's idea of what is good for the people. As sensitive as a magnetic needle, it zeroes in on art it regards as depraved and degenerate.

In any other European country, such a policy would lead unfailingly to dissidence and the secret distribution of culture. But the remarkable circumstance is that the Western decadence lying within convenient reach does not attract Albanians. Along the coast, they can easily pick up Italian TV programs, but it is the soccer games that interest them most. Albanian common sense is obviously a more effective barrier to unsuitable influence than any censorship is.

Present-day Albanian cultural life is surprising in its breadth, especially against the background of the fact that everything has been built from the ground up over the past 40 years. Ten touring theater groups present 1,500 performances annually, and there are also 900 amateur theater groups. One out of every nine Albanians is actively involved in folk dancing, folk music, or some other cultural activity. In all, there are 300,000 people in over 7,000 groups. Every town has a house of culture, and every village has a cultural hall--a total of over 2,000 such centers. The national theater in Tirana presents mainly Albanian operas and ballets, and at the college of fine arts, every music student must play a required folk instrument in addition to conventional Western instruments.

Among us, the concept of "cultural imperialism" is fuzzy and politically infected, but the Albanians, more painfully and for a longer time than any other European people, have learned to understand the real meaning of the expression and to appreciate the value of their own culture. They enjoy it without allowing themselves to be tempted by siren calls from across the border.

11798

CSO: 3650/69

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREET'S POLAND'S JABLONSKI ON 75TH BIRTHDAY

AU282046 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, has sent the following message to Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic:

Esteemed Comrade Jablonski:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and on my personal behalf, I greet you most cordially on your 75th birthday.

The Bulgarian Communists and our country's working people know you as a noted party and state figure, fierce communists, and consistent internationalist, who has devoted his life to Poland's communist and workers' movement and its socialist construction, as well as to developing and strengthening the unity of the socialist community's countries in the struggle for peace and socialism. We highly value your personal contribution to developing fraternal relations between the BCP and the PZPR and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic.

On the day of your 75th birthday I wish you from the bottom of my heart, Comrade Jablonski, good health, happiness, and new successes in your highly responsible activity in further constructing socialist Poland, for the benefit of the fraternal Polish people and for the comprehensive expansion and strengthening of Bulgarian-Polish friendship and cooperation.

CSO: 2200/83

BCP DAILY INTRODUCES 'BASIC INITIATIVE' FOR 13TH BCP CONGRESS

AU031311 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 2 January 1985 carries on pages 1 and 3 a 5,000-word editorial article entitled "Revolutionary Thought, Revolutionary Action!", with the shoulderhead: "From Today RABOTNICHESKO DELO Begins Its Basic Initiative on the Eve of the 13th BCP Congress." (Due in Spring 1986).

The "basic initiative" is set out in the first 200 words and consists of two separate elements: a "scientific-practical conference through correspondence," which "broadly and sincerely" will discuss issues related to "new issues and approaches, based on the great idea of revolutionary thought and action and mastering the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution; organically combining science with material and intellectual production; and decisively perfecting every activity of our society."

The second element of the "basic initiative" is the beginning of a "national competition of highest achievements in developing and introducing the best achievements of science and technology in labor organization."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO then announces that "meetings with readers, open party meetings and scientific-practical conferences" are to be held at the industrial plants as a part of the newspaper's initiative, and urges readers "to express themselves" at these meetings and to write to the newspaper about "their ideas, questions, and positions," as a part of the "scientific conference through correspondence."

After presenting the "basic initiative" the editorial reviews various aspects of Bulgaria's economic and public life and calls for broad improvements in these areas. The referent BTA report provides a representative description of the significant points of the remainder of the article.

CSO: 2200/83



BULGARIA

BRIEFS

FILIPOV ATTENDS CEREMONY--On 5 January a celebration took place in Obzor, on the Black Sea coast, on the occasion of the settlement being promoted to the municipal rank of town. The celebration was attended by Comrade Grisha Filipov; Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the BCP Burgas Okrug Committee, and other leaders of Burgas Okrug and the Nesebur conurbation system. [passage omitted on the working successes of Obzor citizens] [Excerpt] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Jan 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/83

PROGRESS IN BUILDING DAM ON DANUBE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by V. Vesely, PRAVDA's permanent Budapest correspondent: "An Eternal Contribution of Friendship"]

[Excerpt] Each meeting of the highest Czechoslovak and Hungarian representatives--one of them will take place during today's visit of Comrade Gustav Husak with Comrade Janos Kadar in Budapest--brings statements about strengthening the friendship and enhancing the cooperation between our countries. These are ideas which generalize our relationship in the useful way. However, their concrete content is rich.

A Common Project

The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water works system is a project with one end near Bratislava and the other not far upriver from Budapest. It is going to give the Danube a new face over a 220 km section. This project is interesting not only for its parameters, but also for the fact that it is being implemented in equal parts--both materially and financially--by two countries, that is, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

As I have witnessed when visiting the construction, in everyday life there arise special situations resulting from this fact, such as bringing in both Hungarian workers and technology for building a waste-water channel in the Gabcikovo water stage on Czechoslovak territory. Here the future bed of the "new" Danube is being excavated by Hungarian suction dredgers, the excavated material is driven away by trucks of Hungarian construction enterprises, and the heap of gravel is handed over to Czechoslovak builders for further use. Jozsef Putz, the coordinator of Hungarian supplies to Czechoslovak territory, feels quite at home in Gabcikovo. His words attest to the excellent cooperation between Hungarian and Czechoslovak builders, in spite of the fact that from time to time they are capable of a proper argument. However, they argue in builders' way, that is to say, without being angry. The result is going to be of a great value: within this year the Hungarian suppliers will extract half a million cubic meters of gravel above the plan.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT YOUTH EDUCATION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Lydia Brabcova: "Relationships Among Us"]

[Excerpts] A hand reaches for a pen and writes a rather pessimistic letter to our editor's desk. The letter is a collection of sighs over the circumstance that today people have become so mean that it is not even worthwhile putting our minds to them. The author sees an envious person in everybody, any property is considered by him to have been acquired by theft, behind every admission to studies there is string-pulling in his eyes, behind every bonus lurk family ties, etc., etc. This letter is not remarkable for its gathering of negative phenomena, but for the fact that its author only laments over the problems, while he himself pessimistically backs away from them, considering them unsolvable. But to be sincere: is it possible to put things straight and remove all evil from among us without any activity, interest, human will and deeds?

The correspondence in our editorial office continues to be postmarked from the past month of October, which has been established among us as the Month of Honoring the Elderly. Based on simple cases, some people in their letters generalize, stating that old age is not being respected, while others appreciate our efforts to make it a period worthy of a human being of our times.

Not a few of the readers also direct their attention to the sphere of the education of our young generation. Among them there are some as well who just "throw in the towel," as the saying goes. However, there are also readers, and quite a few of them, who search for the roots of the question of why some of our children and young people go astray, pointing out the stumbling blocks which deform some of our offspring.

Maria Medvedova from Liptovsky Mikulas ponders over the upbringing of the young ones in some of our families. The letter reveals that its author is of sober judgment, keen perception, and has a lot of experience. She expounds her idea that "an easy road makes even a good hiker indolent." For a young person such an easy road is a family environment which has removed obstacles from his way since early childhood, not teaching him enough to act independently. Maria Medvedova writes: "In the morning a family disperses, coming together again late in the afternoon. But the father is nervous, he does not want to be bothered by the children, the harried mother has a series of household chores waiting for her, so that she has little time left for her children.

Situations arise when it seems that parents and children have nothing to talk about, that there is nothing to bring them together. Children play by themselves, often away from home. Many times parents do not even know what kind of friends their offspring have, what they are interested in, and are ignorant of their joys and worries. Thus in many families the home has been transformed into just a roof over their heads." She also points out that many of our children do not even know how to play. She writes: "A child is not given plasticine, paper, cork and such to be creative, he or she is presented with ready-made cars, trains, dolls with wardrobes. True, this more expensive, but parents thus avoid the necessity of teaching their child how to play, and teaching him how to overcome obstacles in his play. Many people are somehow too willing to give up their educational duties, and thus also the duty to shape their child's character. And this is exactly how to rear children to be indifferent consumers."

There are various kinds of relationships among people. To underestimate and belittle these relationships, not to pay attention to them, as has been pointed out by our correspondents and readers, results in both personal and social problems which, when accumulated, are eventually more difficult to deal with.

9910

CSO: 2400/141

## RELIGION SEEN AS SURVIVAL OF PAST

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 14 Nov 84 pp 8-9

[Article by Jan Prokes: "Searching for Truth About the World"]

[Text] I shall be frank. It was not entirely by chance that religious literature found its way into my hands. I have been reading in it intentionally. I thought that I might find in it the answer to an important question: How is it possible that we are still talking today about religiosity, about relics in the minds of people? I am mainly interested in motives and causes, which--as many believers will tell you--are the principal and irreplaceable mainstays of their faith....

There has to be something to this, thought Milan Zupka, PhD, pedagogue and scientist at the Institute for Research in Social Thought and Scientific Atheism of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno. And he continued: Religion does not manifest itself in the life of the people only as a relic of the past. Whether we like it or not, we still find around us enough fertile ground to give rise to theism. In the relationship between man, society and nature, there are still many unknown, obscure matters which in many people's minds conjure up incorrect, distorted and illusory notions about their origin. This is closely related to the substance of man's worldview and thus to the characteristic of the psyche to reflect outside realities in emotions, ideas and thinking. A role is also played in this by human experience, man's everyday social experiences, his relationship to the world, its values, to people, to his own self, his concept of man's role in the world, the possibility of his self-realization and many other influences.... According to Marx, "consciousness is a subjective image of the objective world." This definition summarizes the total complexity of these questions. Who can rule out the possibility that in this process of perceiving and comprehending the inner and external impulses there will not occur a disturbance, a short circuit, which will deform and distort the transmitted signal and that as a consequence man will not gain a distorted image of objective reality? This is all the more likely because there are even specialists not only in the transmission of, let us say, "harmful" signals, but also in the production of "disturbances" in their reception.

That I do not understand. Such gradual gnawing away and corrosion.... But anyway: what is it about religion that still appeals to people, what positive things do they find in it?

I cannot but recall another well-known saying by Marx, that religion is the opiate of the people. Hardly anything can be added to that. Because religion, just as a narcotic, makes possible some escape from reality. There is nothing positive in such a temporary escape from life. Or is it perhaps an advantage of some kind to engage in a life-long preoccupation with notions of death and life after death, which for many believers is the pivotal center of their religious conviction? We know from experience how crushing that burden is, how it breaks a man psychologically, how it "devours" him. Under such a cross life is not easier, but just the opposite. To view life through the apocalypse of the final judgment is not uplifting. Religion simply does not foster optimism about life, which is so necessary for living.

Very well, then. But some people have no problem with this aspect of religion. Many times I hear: yes, I believe in God, and what is wrong with that? It is my affair, why should anyone mind? Wherein, according to you, lies the complexity of this "private" religiosity?

It is precisely in this notion, that it is "my own affair" in all respects, that manifestations of individualistic morality are reflected as if in a dewdrop. We, too, consider religion to be a private matter; however, no one has the right, for example, to misuse it against socialism. For some it serves as a cover for defending social passivity. We are, moreover, endeavoring at the same time to create a new type of man, with characteristics whose sum total embodies socialist morality. It is sometimes claimed that such people do not exist. But that is a great mistake. We all know many honorable, conscientious people for whom selfless work on behalf of society constitutes the foundation of their life. The real movers of progress always have been people who are active, altruistic, who think in humanistic terms, in other words, collectivists. Anyone who is lucky enough to live beside such a human being can feel his truly beneficial influence. And is it really not worthwhile to search for and concern oneself with motives which contribute to the creation of such a personality? Religion drains faith in oneself and one's own creative powers out of many people. To be sure, even that often-quoted abstract religious love of one's neighbor is in its consequences an invitation to passivity and resignation. Life, of course, is much more complicated. Even a religious believer is, whether he wants to be or not, firmly bound to society. And therefore it behooves him to use his abilities for its benefit.... We know from experience that many of our religiously minded people participate willingly in building socialism, that they do not stand on the sidelines. We appreciate that. Is religion then really a "private" matter? It would rather appear that our new social order is positively influencing the thinking of believers, that objective reality is gradually changing, and thus also the perception of society in the minds of the people.

On the other hand, there is also the fact that man somehow radiates or broadcasts his thoughts, his ideas, his philosophy, and thus directly or indirectly influences his surroundings. Naturally, a believer, too, influences his surroundings. As a matter of fact, he is actually instructed to convert his fellow men to his faith, to show them the way to God.

Therefore, if we wish to put into practice the principles of communist morality, conduct and new way of thinking, we have to take an interest in religious influences. After all, it would not be right not to try and show that life is not just a "vale of tears."

Nevertheless we sometimes hear--mostly from older people--that retreat from religion leads to a loosening of morals and morality. It is said that people are not afraid of anything.

Arguments in defense of religion are more often sought these days in religious morality rather than in religious doctrine. I am not trying somehow to get out of giving a direct answer, but indeed it is not easy to explain to some people that religious morality is nothing divine, nothing supernatural, nothing eternal, that it is a product of a distorted human perception which performs--and this is important--the function of a regulator of certain dogma of the social life of the believers. Such people even refuse to condemn those notorious forms of violence which under the banner of religious morality have served secular and, today, imperialist interests.

One such example of an often overrated influence of religion on the standards of social morality: Let us make it simple and take one of perhaps the most religious of countries--Italy, more specifically Sicily. These are the very places which are in the throes of violence, terrorism and criminality of the worst kind. Under the cover of religious morality, Reagan stresses the need for new arms programs; this religious man celebrated the "heroes" of the assault on Grenada.... The collapse of morality in the Western world will probably then have entirely different causes.

Good enough, but one cannot deny that religion in its "pure," so to speak, old Christian form does not have its positive aspects. For example, let us recite the Ten Commandments--what can one have against them? Many apologists of faith insist that with the decline of interest in religion these "all-embracing and universal" thoughts are not being disseminated among people as well as they should be. They say that in this respect religion is irreplaceable.

The problem is that no pure form of religion exists. But let us suppose that you have in mind religion without any clerical or other distortions.

A question formulated in this way is indeed better.

But even here we are no better off. Look at the Ten Commandments more closely. The first three ~~commandments~~ are decidedly religious. The others, the raised moralizing hand notwithstanding, call mainly for blind obedience to all authorities. It seems to me that, since the "proclamation" of the Ten ~~Commandments~~ on Mount Sinai to the present time, these ~~commandments~~ have been used mainly for the protection of exploitative class interests. There is also the inference that if you act according to the ~~commandments~~ you will not end up in hell. Then what kind of morality is this, if you are doing good only in the hopes of a reward? And one more thing: the majority of our

citizens are either nonreligious or atheistic. Many of them live in harmony with the values of socialist morality. Problems arise when people hold the fundamental axioms of socialist morality in contempt and characteristics so typical of bourgeois morality--provincialism, egotism, indifference, parasitism and greed--gain the upper hand.... Is it not then obvious that in a socialist life style it is indeed morality that is its most characteristic trait?

But what about other questions? Within the group of people who reject socialist morality, obviously even the Ten Commandments could not take root... And what about death? Many believers think that religion is more accepting of death, just as religion is said to offer an escape from personal crises.

One of Zavada's poems contains this verse: "Everyone yearns for something different, everyone thinks of different things. Not many do about the end and death, though they may suffer, they go and labor.... and then.... do not look for death but discover life." I dissect these beautiful words only with reluctance. But let us ask ourselves: where is the special advantage to those who constantly think about death, who always hear and see it approaching, as compared to those who simply truly live their life because they see its purpose only in doing? What then makes life more interesting, richer, more acceptable? According to religion's interpretation, life is merely something ephemeral and futile, and it is actually--to put it simply--useless to fill it with anything but prayers, fasting and asceticism. And as far as that escape from personal crises is concerned? I think that it is much, much more worthwhile if in such moments we find a human being, a comrade, in whom we can confide, who will comprehend, who will understand us, who will offer his hand and, if we are unable to do so ourselves, help us to get back on our feet.

And one more question: Is it then proper to try to overcome religion or simply to pay no attention to it?

It is not possible to ignore these problems. It is not possible to be indifferent to survivals of the past, if only so that by ignoring them we do not slow down social progress. At the same time, our Constitution guarantees to every citizen the freedom of religion as well as the freedom of atheism. Both present opportunities for active participation in building socialism and thus, in the final analysis, for a realistic view of the world, for a purposeful vanquishing of relics of the past--religion not excluded.

12605

CSO: 2400/138



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CC SECRETARY CONTRASTS GERMAN ECONOMIES, WARNS EMIGRANTS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 84 p 8

[Speech by K. Naumann, member Politburo and CC Secretary, first secretary of District Berlin: "Many Initiatives in Preparation for the 11th Party Congress"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

In the knowledge of the growing responsibility of our Marxist-Leninist party as the leading political power of our people, the CC secretary general of the SED, comrade Erich Honecker, was able to state at the 9th plenum of the Central Committee that the Politburo resolution on preparation and implementation of the 35th anniversary of the GDR was carried out through the successful work of the citizens of our country. This was only possible

- because the close relationship of trust between the party and the people was further strengthened;
- because the party never acts out of self-interest, but always and profoundly in the interests of the people;
- because the SED consistently took care that the unity of economic and social policy was maintained, despite the economic war waged by the imperialist states against the socialist countries;
- and because our party always promoted the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist states and in particular, because it nurtures and in many various ways deepens the firm alliance between the SED and the CPSU and practices active solidarity with all peoples fighting for freedom and sovereignty.

The speeches by the CC secretary general of the SED at the 7th and 9th plenums of the Central Committee have resulted in providing us with a thorough analysis of our domestic and foreign policies, and the resultant consequences for our further tasks with regard to a sound basis for preparing our 11th Party Congress.

I am in complete agreement with the Politburo report. It is clear to all communists in the GDR: Much higher demands are placed on party, trade union and FDJ leaders, on the leadership in government and industry--increased

leadership activity is required, and also that each one fully and completely carry out the responsibility entrusted to him.

I wish to state very clearly here before the CC plenary meeting that the Berlin party organization will take the range of fundamental tasks postulated by comrade Honecker for the preparation of the 11th Party Congress as its starting point in order to bring about new initiatives in all areas of our society for the further strengthening of our republic. In this, we can build on what has been achieved in the 35th year of the existence of the GDR.

But there is also an additional, very essential factor: it is the pride of our citizens in the achievements of their workers' and farmers' state and the even more pronounced identification with the GDR. It is the confidence in what socialism can accomplish.

#### All Party Collectives Develop Their Own Battle Programs

In 1985 it will, above all, be a matter of not only maintaining the level already attained, but of expanding it, and increasing the speed of performance development, and by adopting the battle programs in all basic organizations, the party leaders will draw the corresponding conclusions. We shall speak about that which has advanced us, and we shall uncover still existing shortcomings and deficiencies in order to change them in our march forward.

The many conversations, discussions and statements of opinion, particularly during recent months, showed a remarkable fundamental tendency which I would like to address briefly here. Male and female workers, the scientific-technical cadres in our factories and workers in all areas are naturally paying sharpened political attention to the great conflict taking place between the two world systems.

Against this background a growing number of citizens recognize, and say, that they have great respect for, and are in accord with, the fact that the policy of our party on every issue takes for granted that the future belongs to socialism, that we show through our actions here and now how a dignified human life in peace is being fashioned. And the workers in our economy bolster this perception of the optimistic evaluation of our prospects through new and higher achievements.

The more than 25,000 brigades existing in Berlin have contributed to this with many good initiatives, with outstanding performances. As of the end of October, through a rate increase of 10.8 percent in net production and 6.2 percent in industrial goods production, and an increase in work productivity of 9.2 percent on the basis of net production, the contribution of Berlin industries to the national income was further augmented. New experiences and capabilities have especially increased for an even more consistent implementation of the intensively expanded new production.

## Acceleration of Science and Technology is a Central Issue

After experiencing the implementation of the resolutions of the 7th Central Committee plenum, we see the resolutions of the 9th CC plenum and the speech by our secretary general as a mandate to firmly establish all qualitative factors for intensified economic growth as permanently effective production potentials.

This is important for continuing in the coming years the main task in its unity of economic and social policy.

It is a central issue to further accelerate scientific-technical progress, to translate new research and development performance more rapidly into production, and to achieve high economic benefit in the shortest time possible.

Time and again there is confirmation that this depends above all on the quality of state managerial activity in the combines and scientific-technical institutions, and on the effectiveness of direct political work by party, trade union, and youth organizations in the research, development and construction collectives.

The clear and unequivocal mandate calling for highest results is the starting point of the struggle to achieve top performances in science and technology. But it also needs developing and promoting attitudes in researchers and developers so that they, without watching the clock, work almost obsessively on the realization of goals.

We have learned through experience that matters progress best where forces are brought together in good time, also--and in particular--with regard to close cooperation between combines and the institutions of the GDR Academy of Sciences and universities.

Outstanding results, such as were attained, for instance, by the NARVA combine following the state order to lower electric energy consumption in lighting technology, and construction of the new color-picture tube plant in the factory for television electronics, can also be attributed to the fact that leading scientists of the Academy of Sciences, and some university teachers, make their knowledge available to the combines.

For an accelerated increase in work productivity, we shall concentrate even more forces on making complete production sectors more efficient and more complexly automated, together with modernizing the existing basic investments. It will contribute to saving at least 45 million manhours in Berlin in the coming year--this corresponds to the output of almost 25,000 Berlin workers. In accordance with the secretary general's mandate in the final speech at our 15th district delegates' conference, in October a further example worthy of emulation was created in the Berlin brake factory in the production of important ancillary supplies for the W 50 truck.

Decisive for the economic benefit from the complex efficiency measures is the fact that the leading cadres of the factory created in good time all preconditions for applying the new technology in several shifts.

The fact that in Berlin 32 percent of the production workers in industry are employed in several shifts, and that this percentage is rising further due to the enormous basic investments, has also led to the situation that greater measures for improved working and living conditions became necessary.

Naturally, this also gives rise to many problems in family life, in the education of the children, and above all in a thorough rethinking of the spiritual-cultural life in the area of leisure time. All party organizations are called upon to bring about useful, well-considered decisions through state leadership.

We shall make special efforts to attain a growth rate in consumer goods production for the domestic and export markets in the coming year higher than that in the industrial goods production as a whole. This means that the considerable potential of the consumer goods industry already existing in Berlin must be made even more effective in quantity, and especially in quality.

In this regard, with a view to the references contained in the Politburo report, we are thinking particularly of clothing manufacturers, the furniture industry, and other producers of light industry. The major endeavor must be on making fully effective the large investments in Berlin industries for the production of new, high-quality consumer goods. We place great emphasis on establishing, in good time, productive work collectives under the leadership of the party organizations. Time and again, this proves the importance of prudently training mid-level production cadres, particularly master craftsmen, as competent organizers of production and as leaders of collectives.

Through the great efforts of all involved, the year 1984 was a successful one for Berliners, especially in the complex construction of housing and in road building. It will come to a close with more than 23,000 newly constructed or modernized apartments, 2,160 new kindergarten places, 1,130 new places in day nurseries, 840 new places in after-work and nursing homes, 250 classrooms in polytechnical high schools, 12 school gymnasiums, 10 new shopping centers, and many other things.

#### Great Plans for Housing Construction

Through comradely cooperation with district leaders and district councils, we have already been successful. Considerable efforts were expended to make large-scale redeployments necessary for inner-city construction, and to remove building restrictions so that the 10,000 additional apartments planned for 1985 can be built on time. For the 11th party congress we shall have to complete entire sections in the reconstruction and

modernization areas on Wilhelm-Pieck street and in more than 20 locations in the center of the city. In 1985-86, apartment construction will also be started on the--up to now--largest sites on Friedrich, Grotewohl and Matern streets, and on the Frankfurter Allee with the goal of readying the first partial section for occupancy by the beginning of 1986.

By the time of the 11th Party Congress, we shall finish the complex apartment construction on the grounds of the former gas works, we shall have created a park for recreation, and we will be able to dedicate a worthy monument to our unforgotten Ernst Thaelmann on the occasion of his 100th birthday.

Beginning at the Marstall bridge, next to the Palace of the Republic, at the Marx-Engels Forum on Rathau street, Spandau street, at the Molkenmarkt/Mauhlendamm to the Muehlendamm bridge, i.e., all around the Nikolai church, apartments and numerous groundlevel stores will also be built. The Berlin district leadership will do everything in its power to provide the construction prerequisites so that the Marx-Engels monument can be dedicated on the eve of the 11th Party Congress.

The same thoroughness is needed to advance apartment construction in the city sectors of Berlin-Marzahn and Berlin-Hohenschonenhausen, and to transfer additional properly functioning apartment sectors to the people.

In Berlin-Mitte, where at present 27 construction firms from 6 districts are at work, it was decided in the joint party activists' collective

- to repair and modernize on time as many apartments as possible while occupied;
- to complete the apartment buildings after a maximum of 4 months of construction work, with signed quality certificate, and to make them again available for rentals;
- to offer future renters, 3 months before completion of construction, proposals for VMI services.

Local party authorities have begun to perform great, high-quality political-organizational work in carrying out economic and social processes according to the new standards, thus reconfirming the leading role the party plays in all areas and under all conditions.

Even now many diligent Berlin citizens, from school children to retirees, are helping to provide the surroundings of the modernized apartments and new construction areas with beautiful greenery, with trees and shrubs. In this way, this year 2,741 rear courts in old apartment sections of Berlin were done over or improved. This is more than one-third of all Berlin interior courts--and everyone enjoys them. So far this year, 60,000 trees were planted, 20.3 hectares of grass were seeded in new construction areas, and by now there exist more than

9,000 contracts with the HGL for the care of 1,151 hectares of lawn and park areas through the voluntary initiative of citizens. We want to expand this further in the coming year.

An educated, cultured, active human being who develops his strengths and capabilities in socialist society for the good of the people and the preservation of peace, that is the essential goal of our party work with the masses. We contrast his active struggle with the intellectual manipulation and the loss of the meaning of life which are spreading even further in the capitalist world.

The so-called "citizens' democracy" in today's capitalism, in the words of Lenin, is always "narrow, limited, false and deceitful, a paradise for the rich, a trap and deceit for the exploited, the poor." [Lenin, Works, Vol 28, p 240 f]

This is demonstrated most clearly by the mass unemployment in capitalism, particularly among the young, which leads to the destruction of their personality, their capabilities and talents and who, on top of it all, are mocked as failures and losers.

In the highly developed imperialist states, millions of people cannot be active in accordance with their qualifications and level of education. In the FRG alone, according to their own, incomplete statements, 4,000 physicians earn their living as taxi drivers, tutors, salesmen or cleaning women. And not a few of those who believed they would make their fortune in the West after leaving the GDR, are subject to the same fate.

#### Security of Future and Social Safety

In the GDR, the young have solid ground under their feet on the road to life. The humanistic principle, the same right to education, with simultaneous encouragement of the capabilities and talents of each individual, is fully guaranteed in the 10-grade school system.

That a well-trained and educated youth in our society, in accordance with the constitution of the GDR, is preparing itself for future tasks as socialist citizens can be seen, among other things, in the fact that in choosing their occupations more and more pupils are motivated by the societal requirement that they join an occupation urgently needed for a consistent continuation of the course of the main task.

For this reason, every year more graduates of the 10th grade were able to obtain the desired apprenticeship place with their first application. This important decision in the life of a young person is the result of his experiences of socialism, characterized by a secured future and social safety.

Many extracurricular groups cover mathematical and natural science as well as sociological and artistic areas. Even if we exclude the great number of Berlin pupils active in sports--and, as you know, 92 percent of them know how to swim--as many as 60 percent of all pupils are active in these extracurricular study teams. As of the 7th grade, about 500 pupils belong to a mathematical study group which is looked after by almost 50 scientists. In addition, we also have study teams in the natural sciences and a sociological study group, and as of 3rd grade, every suitable pupil can be accepted in the people's music schools of all Berlin city boroughs.

Some 1,250 people's art collectives, 168 of them in production plants in which are organized 25,200 folk artists (60 percent of them young people) and many workers directly active in production, are a sure sign that increasingly, work, leisure and culture are becoming more closely interconnected.

It is a road not without pain, but also not without demanding and stimulating tasks. It is a road where there is no room for historical pessimism and nihilistic attitudes, as the opponents or "swaying figures" [reference the Goethe's "Faust"] want to suggest to mature socialism.

Communists have made it their life's task to be guided always by the rules, needs and goals of the revolutionary historical development of mankind. We are also obligated to this by the great sacrifices made by the German and international working classes before the founding of the GDR, among which the sacrifices of the liberators, freeing the German people from Hitler's fascism, the dead soldiers of the glorious Soviet Army, occupy an unforgotten place of honor. To do justice to this historical obligation, our secretary general gave to it both goal and direction a year ago at the 7th Central Committee plenary session with the rousing words: "Now more than ever!"

In firm solidarity with the USSR and the other socialist states, we continue determinedly and confidently on the road of peaceful socialist development. With good work and firm confidence in the policy of party and government, the citizens of the capital of the GDR, Berlin, demonstrate their awareness and certainty: Socialism, and the struggle for peace, is an international factor to which belongs the future, and this naturally holds true for all continents of this earth.

For this reason, under the motto of "High achievements for the good of the people and for peace--onward to the 11th Party Congress of the SED", we shall contribute in every workers' collective to decide on concrete obligations so that we in this decisive geopolitical location in Europe can continue, through our deeds, the over-all stable and dynamic development of the GDR with success, and in peace.

LAW JOURNALS DISCUSS NEED FOR REFORM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Ideological Function of Punishment

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German No 11, Nov 84 pp 874-881

[Article by E. Buchholz, professor, department of jurisprudence, Humboldt University, Berlin: "Dialectical-Materialistic Conception of Socialist Criminal Law and Socialist Democracy"\*]

[Text] As we know, V.I. Lenin described materialistic dialectics as the soul of Marxism. As a methodological-heuristic work principle, it helps every social science toward the theoretical--and therefore also the practical--solution of all social issues, all problems of mankind. The nature and the developmental laws of all social institutions may be explained by the use of the dialectic method, including punishment and criminal justice in socialism. It is not based on abstract deductions but on the concrete historic analysis of the respective manifestations and processes. At the same time, it seems to me indicated to stress and examine the dialectic-materialistic determination of precisely such social and also legal phenomena which are not so directly linked with economics as those of business, labor, LPG and land law. I am therefore going to deal with the material background of punishment as the characteristic tool of criminal justice.

Considered from the aspect of history, punishment has been permeated and overlaid from its very beginning by mysticism, ceremonial-sacramental procedure and religious or idealist glorification--both in its practical application and its theoretical interpretation. In view of the fact that punishment, as the specific tool of domination by the ruling classes was and is accompanied by usually considerably forceful, often cruel and barbaric interventions in the physical and social life of people, this alien power exercised in the exploiter systems necessarily requires special legitimation or even sanctification as the hypocritical apology hiding the socioeconomic primary cause of the punishment as much as that of the crime. And the more distant (and more absolute) this solemn justification was from the material primary cause (for instance in an "eternal" concept of the law of morals, of freedom), the better it seemed to be, and that is why (despite Liszt) nobody ever seriously advocated an "objective punishment pure and simple."<sup>1</sup>



And yet, a concrete-historic and materialist analysis of the genesis of punishment and criminal law clearly demonstrates that this specific tool was generated and produced everywhere and always--in other words inevitably--where proprietorial interests, in particular the interests of classes of private proprietors, needed to be made to prevail and defended against earlier cooperative methods of production and, later, against individual and extra-economic offenses against private property. Penal justice and punishment were not inherent in the history of mankind, nor created with society's split into classes and the rise of the state simply to defend the vital interests of society. They demonstrably and directly served the enforcement and security of individual or private property--denying the common ownership of the gentle society, in other words the original production collective--together with the concomitant antique priestly-military despotism as the early type of those original states based on private property and managing as well as safeguarding the new method of production.<sup>2</sup>

Though the borders remained fluid, punishment was distinguished from naked military and police force precisely by the fact that it condemned the sinning offender by invoking a deity (later a superior ideal) and made him expiate his crime. Disregarding the religious form of the manifestation of punishment and criminal justice, due to the social and intellectual stage of development, it is important precisely for our age that the specific functional nature of punishment--beyond the perceptible use of force--consists mainly in the moral-political and judicial condemnation of the deed and the disapproving devaluation of the offender as a result of this deed, in other words in the exercise of a specific ideological function.

Historic retrospectives and the consideration of prime causes do not represent historic reminiscences for Marxist-Leninist scholars. However, the more accurately we analyze when, why and how punishment and criminal justice arose, were created, the better we are able to recognize the conditions of their continued existence and prospects or their future abolition. Punishment and criminal justice never meant the simple use of force, nor--however fluid the transitions in olden days--did they serve simple (civil) compensation. The dedication (to the deity) sometimes represented as a sacrifice or the social action organized in a special (religious) ritual as condemnation and expiation were the special feature distinguishing punishment from military-police execution.<sup>3</sup> This special ritual and mystic-religious ceremonial conducted by rulers in the practical application of criminal justice ever since its genesis, was dictated by the need to produce a general ideological coincidence of penal power and society even where the latter was internally torn by class antagonisms, and where the interests of people and penal power diverged or clashed. To this day ceremonial and medieval trappings as well as the outstanding status of the judge are vital in the operation of courts in capitalist countries--even terrorist dictatorships--in order to ensure the criminal court (and the punishment meted out by it) an exceptionally great social prestige and far reaching politico-ideological inviolability within the framework of general juridical-ideological manipulation. Criminal justice and punishment must, therefore, be considered far more thoroughly in their ideological and related effects and functional mechanisms than has been done up to now.

In socialism it is imperative to fully make prevail this general feature of punishment and criminal justice in its new and socialist quality and, consequently, finally forget all obsolete and more or less mystical-idealistic conceptions of punishment held by many private citizens (such as punishment fetishism). However, we will succeed only if we resolutely proceed on materialist-dialectic terms both in theory and practice. As long as the argument is merely concerned with more protection or more education, this or that objective of punishment, /kara/[as printed] as goal or prime feature, force as a characteristic trait or necessary element, we are still moving too much in a traditional penalty-theoretical space and, in my opinion, have not really advanced to dialectic-materialistic bases. To perceive punishment and criminal justice dialectically-materialistically in Marx's spirit means, in my opinion, to reveal in concrete-historic contemplation its dialectic relationships ranging to the methods of production, the ultimately decisive material and economic conditions.

The perception of the class nature of punishment in the 1950's and the orientation of criminal justice to dialectics and social practice, represented prominent milestones in Marxist penal theory in the GDR, and these were also reflected in the socialist penal code.<sup>4</sup> In the 1960's, important correlations of criminal justice, punishment and democracy were elaborated and the (new) educational function in socialism emphasized. However, it has taken until now for the beginning of a more realistic, materialistically and sociologically based mode of thought to be registered in particular in the discussion on the efficacy of punishment, criminal justice and criminal procedure.

The prime cause of crime and punishment must be sought in the methods of production based on private property. In socialism, too, though serving the protection of the new social styles of production, reproduction and daily life, and demonstrating a new social quality, punishment is ultimately explicable only by the (after)effects of a method of production and conditions of private ownership which--dividing people and urging social warfare of all against all--still influences socialist conditions and counteracts their progress to communist conditions.<sup>5</sup> This means

1. That punishment achieves a socialist quality only in new and real social conditions and to the extent to which the new method of production actually nationally and internationally prevails against the old method, therefore also in the intellectual-moral sphere, in culture. The social quality and efficacy of punishment can never be greater than the economic organization and the cultural development of society related to it;<sup>6</sup>

2. That punishment cannot simply be interpreted as the response and reaction to a crime, explain crime and criminal justice simply by the (continued) existence of criminality. This would give rise to the danger that we are still not qualitatively raised above Hegel's doctrine of punishment, described by Marx as the "speculative beauty patch of the old jus talionis."<sup>7</sup> However much we are justified in response to any arbitrary action and lawlessness to stress the crime in juridical terms as the only legal cause, the only legal motivation for the imposition of punishment, this offers no social nor

scientific explanation of punishment. Long ago Marx perceived that "in fact punishment is nothing but one of society's means of defense against any offense against its living conditions."<sup>8</sup> We must therefore ascertain the society, living conditions and social interests producing mass outrages against the living conditions of society, in order that we may then contemplate the progressive revolutionary change of such a social system. In socialism, consequently, neither a breach of law per se, nor the malice of an individual nor his dangerousness may be considered a social reason for punishment. The reason is to be found in the revolutionary historic clashes between two methods of production. Just as punishment evolved inevitably--originally with the dissolution of the gentle system due to the birth of private property, its existential basis will not drop away completely until the method of production based on private property has become past history in all the world. Anything else is mere fancy;

3. That punishment in socialism fulfills a necessary and objectively progressive function because--for the first time--it operates fully in the spirit of the process of history and--variously publicized--contributes to the victory of the new method of production based on common ownership. That is its actual historic legitimation, upholding its humanism and its basic moral and legal justification. That is why punishment in socialism does not represent a mere defensive-reactive means of defense for society but also a state instrument for the promotion of new conditions and modes of behavior.

However, this justification for the use of punishment rests on a very narrow basis and runs the danger of subjectivism. It must be emphasized in particular that neither the process of history which determines the quality, the field of operations and, ultimately, the cancellation of the punishment, nor the efficacy of punishment may be artificially forced by a greater degree of compulsion. The classics had developed the law of the economy of repression--always to apply only the necessary measure of compulsion, no more.<sup>9</sup> For the ruling working class this also represents the expression of its humanism, its confidence in the strength of the people and its political wisdom. In practice this conception cannot be easily realized. Not only do we need some rules on the award of punishment, that are oriented to the crime and the criminal (see Article 61 StGB [penal code]) as per a theory of judicial awards of punishment constantly underdeveloped in the entire history of criminal justice, we also require a complex and dialectically-materialistically based societal-theoretical approach. The party of the working class has always given this orientation, but to date such a scholarly and sociologically based working method has not really been drafted and publicized.<sup>10</sup> It is therefore even harder in practice to ban subjectivism in the award of punishment.

This contribution, though, is to draw attention mainly to the ideological function of punishment in socialism. It is concerned with a specific benefit and essential feature of punishment, which is of eminent importance in practical terms, and represents one--albeit not the central--issue of penal practice, that has tended in the past to be somewhat neglected although the term education is often bandied about. De-ideologization would also be the end result of a rightfully condemned overemphasis on economic criteria, such as

profit and loss, in the consideration of the problem of the efficacy of punishment, criminal justice and criminal procedure, because this would narrow down punishment to no more than procedural rationalization and represent political retrogression. In the teeth of historic necessity, the abolition of the ideological function of punishment would mean a renunciation of punishment and the intention of relying entirely on administrative compulsion, devoid of punishment. However, the nature of criminal punishment is not molded by external state compulsion--though it certainly is part of it and indispensable--; but by the political-moral (and judicial) social condemnation of the deed, the disapproving devaluation of the personality of the offender because of and to the extent of his crime. The essential need is for suffering this collective-social disapproving condemnation (backed by penal compulsion).<sup>11</sup> The more profound this psychic experience, the less the punishment represents an "external...force" for the offender, the more it becomes "the sinner's self-condemnation,"<sup>12</sup> the more lasting it is, the greater its efficacy. Still, despite all psychological fashions, this is not primarily a merely individual-psychological-internal process but an element of a social and historic process. In this connection Marx explicitly objected to the "merely speculative interpretation of the current empirical criminal punishment," "to the idealistic abstraction that leaves its method [of criminal punishment--author's comment] to the respective stage of the organization of the state." The nature of criminal punishment would "genuinely" change only in different, "in humanist conditions." It will require quite changed circumstances "to entirely reverse...the relationship (between the offender and the punishing state)."<sup>13</sup> It is imperative for the theory and practice of punishment to be geared more resolutely to the change of material social conditions.

By the fact that punishment largely presents the state-social condemnation of the offense, it amounts (exemplified by the individual case) to the setting and publication of value and valuation criteria which are a state mandatory and authoritative manifestation of politico-moral and legal norms and value concepts, instrument and expression of the ethical education of the new man, element of the ultimate political and economic freedom from old production methods and the liberation of the people's creative and productive forces. However, it is impossible to appreciate this social and historic substance of punishment in socialism as long as as we consider punishment no more than an isolated sanction imposed on an individual from the outside, and remain blind to its very nature.

As a social institution (of the superstructure) and within the political system, punishment is also a social (politico-ideological) circumstance--ultimately decided by basic conditions--, a politico-legal type of organization of the (mass) behavior of people, pursued by the working class by way of its materialized political and ideological institutions (specially the courts). In the ideal case, this mass social behavior consists in the immoral and illegal crime being disapproved of by the masses generally and in a specifically judicial form, the offender (in the case of general crimes) acknowledging this social condemnation of his deed, endeavoring to improve himself and make good the harm caused, and by society helping and reinforcing these efforts and--stimulated by the individual case--generally becoming

active in crime prevention. This strengthens the (socialist) consciousness of ethics and legality of the private citizen, develops (socialist) ethical value and evaluation criteria as general behavioral orientations, contributes to the education of socialist personalities, the definition of a socialist lifestyle, the shaping of the new man. The socialist quality of punishment progresses in the interrelation between the ethical, intellectual-ideological standard of society and basic economic relations. This process is highly contradictory; some of these contradictions are constructively and progressively resolved with the help of punishment, but many others may be aggravated and turn into opposition and lasting conflicts (in the case of asocial recidivists, for example).<sup>14</sup> In addition, the antagonisms permanently operating from the outside are certainly not nullified by punishment.

All the foregoing illuminates the fact that the efficacy of punishment, criminal justice and criminal procedure is bound to vary considerably, despite the correctness and justice of the punishment--from one time to the next, from one locality to the next, from one case to the next--and may in fact retrogress in the process of history if the concrete conditions change. A stable and perceptible improvement of the efficacy of punishment can be achieved only by the long-range definition of the real social benefits and features of socialism.

The complexity of this process is reinforced by the fact that the value criteria here dealt with regarding the equalization (for the sake of atonement or compensation) of the injuriousness, wickedness and irresponsibility of the respective socially negative act (crime) largely relate to the ethical and legal phenomenon of justice which, in turn, has a highly contradictory material basis in equivalence and commodity-money relations as well as in the performance principle. Such moral-legal value criteria convey differentiated interests at the level of a general social interest and combine them. They are the product of a social communication and intellectual-ideological debate to be constantly recreated. On the basis of relatively homogenous basic social interests and views, an abundance of subjective valuation possibilities is revealed, too. This creative-dynamic process therefore requires ideological guidance which--particularly since we are dealing with a process of political rule--can be guaranteed with the necessary consciousness, resolution, ideological strictness and stability only by the Marxist-Leninist party of the ruling working class

All my earlier remarks reveal that the realization of the ideological function of punishment in socialism is actually a question of socialist democracy. Only to the extent that the people, led by the working class and its party, morally, politically and ideologically backs the punishments pronounced by its courts, are these punishments able to fulfill their ideological function. Socialist criminal justice stands and falls with the politico-ideological appreciation by the popular masses; consequently it is entirely dependent for its social reality on the moral and political convictions of the public, regardless of its correctness and justice.

As value criteria do not arise by themselves, the important practical task involved in raising the ideological function of punishment, incumbent in

particular on the organs of justice, consists mainly in making the working people inside and outside the courts aware by the example of the respective case and by submitting convincing facts of the relevance to their interests, the injuriousness, the social worthlessness of the crime, the irresponsibility of the criminal in society and, therefore, the criteria by which to condemn the crime. Such ideological objectivity in general and in this sphere represents an important means for the evolution of socialist democracy.

Finally (in opposition to undue overemphasis on practical expectations), we need to stress that punishment as a social manifestation and in its ideological function can be theoretically perceived and made to prevail in practice only if we do not restrict ourselves to the individual concrete punishment meted out in one individual case. We need to work in the abstract to organize vital processes. Punishment, penal practice and the penal policy of the socialist state must be contemplated in their totality, their interrelations with the entire ideological development of society and in terms of long periods of time. Socialist penal policy is therefore correctly and basically oriented to long-range objectives (differentiation principles), and just for that reason it is able to help mold ideology.

Probably in contradistinction to business law, the characteristics of relative stability and long-range considerations essentially inherent in ethics and the law and corresponding to ideology are of special significance in a sphere concerned with the morality and ideology shaping influence of socialist state practice, including the use of punishment. It must help instil in the masses firm ethical convictions of the absolute inadmissibility of and intolerance toward crimes and awareness of the common responsibility for the prevention of crime. Significant advances in the successful further repression of crime, a greater efficacy of criminal justice, punishment and criminal procedure as well as the further progress of socialist democracy are achieved whenever such ethical convictions have their material roots in the socialist economy and productively react upon it.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* Included in this essay are conceptual thoughts drafted together with J. Lekschas in a manuscript for the new textbook "Strafrecht" [Criminal Justice].

1. Operative here is the same methodological principle of the "establishment," "explanation" and "justification," recently so vividly presented by H. Klenner in his legal-philosophical study "Marxismus und Menschenrechte" [Marxism and Human Rights], Berlin 1982, pp 26ff, in the chapter headed "Sacred Laws Profanely Explained."

2. The defense of life, health and dignity was still left for a considerable time to the gentle associations (clans) or the (village) communities replacing them, for example in the guise of vendettas surviving to some extent and in some locations to the modern age and even the present time. State authorities hesitated for a long time before taking over this

defense and replacing blood feuds by blood money or the official death penalty.

3. As the crime--in accordance with primitive perceptions--was interpreted as an attack on the deity guaranteeing the social life of those communities, as an "offense" to the gods, the malefactor was sacrificed to the deity in order to pacify it and deflect its anger from the community. The simple physical destruction or expulsion of a member of the community, who had become intolerable, was sanctified in religious terms, made to appear good and noble. As late as the 17th Century, the phrase used upon sentence being pronounced, read: "Condemned and damned."
4. See K. Polak, "On the Situation of Constitutional and Juridical Science in the GDR," STAAT UND RECHT, 1959, pp 1326ff; J. Renneberg, "Putting Criminal Justice on the Basis of Dialectics and Social Practice!", STAAT UND RECHT, 1959, pp 829ff.
5. See E. Buchholz, "On the Causes of Crime in the GDR," NEUE JUSTIZ 1983, pp 199ff. In my opinion the dialectic of punishment in socialism to be more profoundly considered consists in the fact that its socialist, political, social and ideological quality arises from the new socialist style of production and life and is materially rooted therein; its necessity, on the other hand, results from criminality which will be with us for a long time yet, and which in turn ultimately derives in one way or another from a private economic style of production, exchange and life. In perfect communism there will once again be neither crime nor punishment (nor state and laws).
6. See K. Marx/F. Engels, Collected Works, Vol 19, Berlin 1962, p 21.
7. See K. Marx/F. Engels, Collected Works, Vol 2, Berlin 1959, pp 189f.
8. K. Marx/F. Engels, Collected Works, Vol 8, Berlin 1960, p 508.
9. See also I.J. Karpez, "Die Strafe" [The Penalty], Berlin 1975, pp 19ff.
10. Our traditional suggestions on differentiation and the award of punishment largely relate to specific facts of the matter (see textbook and commentary to Article 61 Paragraph 2 StGBB), such as the consequences and the method of commission, and to actual features of the criminal, such as his capability and readiness for future responsible behavior. Any reference to social relations and conditions is either lacking altogether or confined to meaningless abstractions. The decisive sociopolitical factors, though actually supplying the criteria for behavior appraisal, remain largely unknown. This (general) backwardness makes it harder to develop and enforce an all-round scientific penal policy.
11. See A.S. Makarenko, "Theoretische Schriften" [Theoretical Writings], Berlin 1962, p 166.



12. See K. Marx/F. Engels, Collected Works, Vol 2, as before, p 190.
13. Ibid, pp 189f.
14. Marxists should not have any doubts that legal regulations (and legal measures) as such do not resolve any social conflicts whatever but are able to offer only the legal framework for a social resolution of the conflict (as the form of movement of a contradiction), appropriate to society and adequate to the problem. H. Klenner correctly reminded us in his Study on Human Rights (see above, p 92), "that the juridical resolution of conflicts is (not) capable of stopping up its source." The conflict between the criminal and society tends on the contrary to be aggravated if the legitimate and socially appropriate offer of conflict resolution (in the shape of the penalty and social help with probation and compensation) is rejected by the criminal.

#### Motivation To Be Considered

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German No 11, Nov 84 pp 460-461

[Article by W. Griebe, department of jurisprudence, Humboldt University, Berlin: "Determining the Motives in Offenses Against Property"]

[Text] The Supreme Court has repeatedly insisted that it is necessary, both in the interest of the correct evaluation of the crime and the differentiated establishment of the measures of criminal responsibility, to examine the motives for the offender's action and include them in the evaluation of the crime.<sup>1</sup> We must agree with R. Mueller who dealt with this problem in NEUE JUSTIZ 1983, No 11, pp 454f, by citing the example of crimes against property, and who said that no undifferentiated classification may be made when the motivation of criminals is discussed.

#### Ascertainment of the Social Substance of the Motivation of the Offense

The problem of motivation in a specific class of crime cannot be discussed in detachment from the social nature of these offenses. By their social nature, crimes against property are characterized by the illegal appropriation of material and property values causing injury to socialist or personal property and providing the offender (or a third party) with illegal material benefits.

The results cited by R. Mueller of his analysis of the motivation in the case of serious crimes against property clearly illustrate this proposition. Material acquisition is important not only among motives of greed and the search for prestige, it is also involved when the motive is consumerism or compensation. At times, it is possible that the offenders are superficially less interested in "enriching" themselves than--as R. Mueller explains--in acquiring the "means to satisfy some vital needs of the moment." However, this is done by precisely the illegal acquisition of material values, enrichment at the expense of society or other private individuals. This enrichment is an element of the subjective aspect of the criminal's action.



This shows that motivation differs very considerably in the case of crimes against property. To correctly comprehend it in its social context should be the objective of any criminal procedure. Unfortunately that does not always happen in practice.

#### Distinction between the Motive and the Objective of the Offender

Indictments and verdicts often list other psychological processes as motives, though they are not really motives as far as their substance is concerned.<sup>2</sup> That applies in particular to the criminal's intentions and objectives. In such instances motivational processes are mistaken for or blended with final elements. However, psychology has long indicated the necessity for distinguishing between them. B.M. Teplov, for example, differentiates them as follows: "A motive is that which inspires man to choose these or those objectives...An objective is that which man seeks to achieve as the result of this action."<sup>3</sup> Motives therefore indicate the subjective origin and genesis of the offense, while objectives and intentions indicate the direction of the offense, "the 'how' in the concretization of the motivation at the level of action."<sup>4</sup>

This separation of motive and objective is necessary to increase the forcefulness of the statement; at the same time, though, it is imperative to acknowledge and respect the close psychological tie between these two aspects. To research the substance of guilt, we need to discover both the motivation and the objectives and intentions of the offender.

Every human action is based on specific needs, desires or motivations.<sup>5</sup> In general we interpret motivation as the "internal causes" of a particular mode of behavior. They arise from internal motives, are conditioned by circumstances and shaped by the "totality of the psychological structure," the systems of habitual dispositions (value orientations) and feelings of the personality.<sup>6</sup>

#### Distinction between Conscious Motivation and Actual Motives

A specific kind of behavior never originates in just one motive. It always needs several or many motives which, in combination, decide behavior.<sup>7</sup> Involved in this process are emotional elements just as much as considerations or conscious motives. Nor is the motivation of behavior shaped only by the character of the person or its attitude, experiences or influences generated by specific situations also have their effect.

The ascertainment of the motivation of criminal behavior seizes only on that part of the subjective processes inherent in the personality of the offender, which explains its actual behavior. And yet we must remember that we are able only to ascertain the motives of which the offender is conscious, at best those he has reproduced. However, considerable differences may exist between these and the "real motives," because--in addition to the motives of which the offender is aware--, there are some which are camouflaged by other motives.

Psychology and social psychology therefore distinguish between conscious motivation and the real motives, "often hidden, not actualized and therefore ascertainable only in the course of analyzing the action itself...Subjectively, at the level of conscious motivation, the persona generally ascribes a morally superior nature to its actions. It endeavors to not only present itself in such a manner to other people but also to itself."<sup>8</sup> From this aspect it is understandable for the offender to be either unable to tell the investigator the real motives of his action or to try and gloss over them.

#### Distinction between Motivation of the Offense and the Background of the Motivation

To arrive at a better study of motivation, H. Dettenborn/H.-H. Froehlich proposed separating motivation from the so-called motivational background, the characteristics of the total personality, attitudes, will, and so on.<sup>9</sup> This has the advantage that we ascertain, together with the motive, those psychological processes within the personality on the one hand, which explain its behavior, and on the other hand illuminate the intimate connection and interrelation of both sides. The offender's motivation reflects the attitude he has assumed in the course of his life and as a consequence of his experiences. At the same time his needs, interests and desires affect his attitude (as the basis of the evolution of the motivation).<sup>10</sup> The attitude of the offender yields insight into his motivation, just as the motive permits conclusions with regard to the offender's attitude.

#### Questions about Motivation at the Interrogation of the Accused or Defendant

Most unfortunately we have as yet neither a theoretical nor practical set of instruments generally applicable to the methodology of investigation, that might be used as a basis for ascertaining the motive (investigation). The conclusions about motive arrived at in the course of the proceedings are more or less subjective. After some time has elapsed since the motivation propelled him to the crime, the offender himself sometimes considers his offense in a very different light. The evaluation of the motives is obviously also subjectively influenced by the person conducting the interrogation or ascertaining the motive. This may have the result that the statements made do not go to the heart of the matter. However, it is imperative to understand those elements in the structure of motivation, which were the conscious or dominating links in the respective action and crucial for the choice of the criminal action variant.<sup>11</sup>

H.J. Gollnick therefore suggested at the interrogation of the accused or defendant to desist from general questions about the motive of his actions and to break down the interrogation into the following specific questions:

- "- When did you decide to commit the offense?
- What was your situation when you arrived at your decision?
- Why did you not try to find another way out of this situation?
- Had you been in a similar situation before?
- How did you cope with it that time?

- What was your material situation at the time you committed the crime?
- Did you talk to anyone about your project beforehand?
- What did you want to use the stolen goods for?
- What were your relations to the injured party?"<sup>12</sup>

These questions would have to be modified in accordance with the specific features of the respective occurrences and the personality of the offender. They are definitely a useful suggestion for arriving at a better ascertainment of motivation in the course of criminal procedure.

#### Classification of Motives in the Case of Crimes against Property

Both the theory and practice of criminal justice group various motives by their social context. H. Dettenborn/H.-H. Froehlich and other writers have proposed to classify motives as social or material motives. Criminals of the first group are concerned mainly with raising their standing (for example to commit the crime so as not to appear to be a coward or to pass a trial of courage); the items stolen are only or primarily means to an end. In the case of material motives, the offenders use the stolen objects directly for the satisfaction of their motivation; the possession and utilization of the items are the desired result.<sup>13</sup>

In my opinion this breakdown into social and material motives does not normally apply in real life. Admittedly, one or the other element may predominate in some individual cases, but mostly the one as well as the other motive is involved in crimes against property. To cite an example: A young cashier stole M4,000 from the cash register of an HO [state trade organization] retail store in the course of 8 months, because she wanted quickly to have her apartment as well furnished as those of her friends. She was concerned both with prestige and the possession and utilization of the stolen goods.

Nor is the subdivision carried out by H. Dettenborn/H.-H. Froehlich and others much of a help in the assessment of the seriousness of the offense. More important in my opinion is the breakdown of motives (proposed by R. Mueller) into prestige, compensation, consumerism, compulsion and altruistic motivation. Consumerism certainly is the most frequent motive. Referring to the Twelfth Plenary Meeting of the Supreme Court,<sup>14</sup> R. Mueller rightly points out that it is imperative at the same time to appropriately classify the ascertained motivation in the total consideration and take it into account as an element of guilt, an element of deliberation upon the award of punishment as per Article 61 StGB [penal code].

Crimes against property committed for motives of greed or the quest of prestige usually display the most serious adverse social content. They include offenses committed by reason of greed, extravagance, ostentation, crass selfishness and the wish to acquire luxury items or lead an extravagant or asocial life.

Less serious (as a rule) are crimes against property motivated by consumerism. These are thefts to satisfy momentary material needs of daily life, for

example, pilfering of household items and money to improve the situation of the family or pursue expensive hobbies.

Altruistic or other not really typical motives for crimes against property should be assigned to a third group. Generally they have a less serious adverse social content than the other groups of motives. They include thefts or fraud committed as a result of thralldom, fear or pity.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Presidium Report to the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Supreme Court: "The Protection of Socialist Property - An Important Concern of Sentencing by the Courts," OG-INFORMATIONEN 1984, No 3, pp 2ff; on the importance of attitudes and motives for the gradations of guilt see No 2.2.1 of the Report by the Supreme Court Presidium on Problems of Criminal Guilt, of 28 March 1973 (NEUE JUSTIZ supplement 3/1973 to No 9, pp 3f).
2. G. Kolbitz, for example arrived at the conclusion that motives had very little importance for the award of punishment in the proceedings she studied. Motives were usually given explicit consideration in the award of punishment only if they were considered specially heinous, and it seemed appropriate to use them to justify more severe penalties (see G. Kolbitz, "On the Differentiated Use of Probation and Prison Sentences for Offenses against Property Committed by Juvenile and Young Criminals," dissertation, Berlin 1977, pp 21ff).
3. B.M. Teplow, "Psychologie," Berlin 1953, p 175.
4. H. Dettenborn/H.-H. Froehlich, "Psychologische Probleme der Taeterpersoenlichkeit" [Psychological Problems of the Criminal Personality], Berlin 1971, p 104.
5. See S.L. Rubinstein, "Grundlagen der Allgemeinen Psychologie" [Bases of General Psychology], Berlin 1961, p 669.
6. See S.L. Rubinstein, "Sein und Bewusstsein" [Being and Consciousness], Berlin 1966, p 206; I.S. Kon, "Soziologie und Persoenlichkeit" [Sociology and Personality], Berlin 1971, p 41.
7. See W. Speigner, "The Starting Points of the Analysis of Motivations and Dispositions of Attitudes in Empirical Sociological Research," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DDR 1976, No 4.
8. A.A. Gusselnow, "Ethical Behavior of the Personality. Intention, Motivation, Appraisal," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE 1978, No 85, pp 575f.
9. See H. Dettenborn/H.H. Froehlich, as before, p 104.

10. Interpreted as "attitude" in psychology are "relatively constant and habitual internal directional or attitudinal dispositions of the individual, which decide action and experience and, in the most general terms, represent the intermediary between stimulus and reaction," (see "Woerterbuch der Psychologie" [Dictionary of Psychology], Leipzig 1976, p 122).
11. See S. Gudd, "Necessity, Extent and Possibilities of the Study of the Motives of Crimes," FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK 1966, No 11, pp 6ff.
12. H.J. Gollnick, "Methodological Problems of the Ascertainment of Motives in Investigation Procedure Concerned with Crimes against Property," dissertation, Berlin 1970, pp 44ff.
13. See H. Dettenborn/H.-H. Froehlich, as before, p 130; H.J. Gollnick, as before, p 96; R/. Mueller, as before, p 454.
14. See H. Kell/S. Wittenbeck, "To Increase the Social Efficacy of Sentencing for the Protection of Socialist Property," NEUE JUSTIZ 1979, No 7, pp 297ff; see also the report of the presidium in OG-INFORMATIONEN 1979, No 4, pp 2ff.

11698

CSO: 2300/164

CAMPAIGN TO LURE YOUTH FROM CHURCH EXAMINED IN FINNISH BOOK

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 2 Dec 84 p 31

[Review of dissertation "Battle for Youth" by Eija Kontti; all Finnish dissertations are printed in book form]

[Text] Eija Kontti, Candidate of Theology, concludes in her dissertation that the churches in the GDR have a negative attitude toward the so-called youth initiation ceremony which has developed into an atheistic substitute for confirmation school.

November marked the 30th anniversary of the date when private circles in GDR made public their appeal for the reinstatement of the youth initiation ceremony.

Eija Kontti, Candidate of Theology, discusses the topic in her dissertation "Battle for Youth: Problems Between Youth Initiation Ceremony and Confirmation in the GDR up to 1964," which was published on Saturday.

Youth initiation ceremony was, and still is, a ceremony adopted by free-thinkers of the 1800's replacing confirmation to mark a solemn transition of youth into the world of adults.

Arguments for the youth initiation ceremony included social necessity and the need to broaden young people's knowledge. Outwardly the youth initiation ceremony resembles confirmation school and the confirmation ceremony.

Young people prepare for the initiation ceremony during youth classes with dialectic materialism as their ideological basis. The classes culminate in a ceremony during which the young people get their diplomas and give their vows.

In their vows, the young people promise to help in building their country and work actively for their country and support peace efforts.

## A Rival for Confirmation School

Youth initiation takes place at the same age as confirmation school and from the very beginning it was a rival for confirmation. Non-participation could mean ineligibility for higher education or job related problems for the parents. At the same time, however, the organizers stressed the voluntary nature of participation.

In 1955, less than 18 percent of confirmation school age children participated in youth initiation programs, but in 1964 they numbered approximately 90 percent. During the same time period, participation in confirmation decreased from 80 to 40 percent. The social significance of youth initiation ceremony is indicated by the fact that it merits its own article in the 1964 youth legislation.

## Churches' Negative Stand

The churches' stand toward youth initiation was negative because in their opinion the initiation meant obligation and commitment to atheism.

As a result, first all evangelical churches of the GDR prohibited confirmation to those young people who had participated in youth initiation. Very soon, however, the churches realized that they had to compromise, which made it possible to participate in confirmation one year after the youth initiation ceremony. In this manner, the circumstances of the young in the cross-fire were somewhat relieved. Simultaneously, the churches were working on new confirmation plans.

8200

CSO: 3617/39

## WORLD FEDERATION EXPANDING PROGRAM TO COURT EMIGRES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Dec 84 p 9

[Text] The Hungarian World Federation is closing an eventful year--according to the report by Deputy Secretary General Pal Szuts during the session of the presidium yesterday. On the list of organized activities there was an outstanding scientific conference involving experts studying the history of Hungarians scattered about the world held in Budapest in August. Jointly organized by the Hungarian World Federation, the Institute of Historical Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Szechenyi Library, the program hosted 19 participants from abroad and 23 from within the country. The lectures dealt with the problems of identity, the evaluation of census data, and the study of scattered Hungarian communities and their institutions.

This year was the third time that a meeting of the leaders of Hungarian organizations abroad was organized in Hungary. The participants came as representatives of 29 organizations from 11 countries to inform each other about their respective activities. The guests told of their desire to maintain contact with the Hungarian World Federation, and they stressed that the results achieved by Hungary and the country's increased international prestige are also making their work easier.

With respect to the traditional programs, the Summer College in Sarospatak was attended by 52 young Hungarians from abroad and this year, for the first time, 20 students from Hungary, coming mostly from schools emphasizing languages, were also guests at the College. The language improvement camp at Lake Balaton received fewer guests than in previous years, primarily because of the increased travel costs. The language improvement camp in Baja entered its second year of existence and the domestic and foreign students had a good time there during the three week session.

The advanced training course for educators in Debrecen had an anniversary this summer: educators teaching the Hungarian language in foreign countries had gotten together there for the 10th time to listen to specialized lectures and to become acquainted with our economic and cultural life. As in the past, the majority of them again came from Sweden. Several aspiring educators from foreign countries were receiving their practical professional training at the Teacher Training Academy of Szombathely. Additionally, 12 young people had



received Hungarian World Federation stipends to participate in the course organized in Debrecen.

The Federation called on the associations in foreign countries. It requested that they collect object memorabilia from the various phases of emigration in order to preserve them. According to the plans, an exhibition of the object memorabilia from scattered Hungarian settlements will be organized within the next few years in Hungary.

Discussing the tentative plans for next year, the deputy secretary general revealed that Veszprem is the site designated for the fifth Mother Tongue Conference to be held in August, and the first meeting of Hungarian folk-dancer groups living in foreign countries will be held in 1985 in Hungary. Two more items from next year's program: the second domestic conference of Hungarian librarians will also be held in August, and the agrarian experts of Hungarian origin, living abroad, will meet at the time of the National Agricultural Fair and Exposition.

2473

CSO: 2500/128

# ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION OF INTERNAL PARTY PROCEDURES

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Nov 84 pp 44-53

[Roundtable discussion: "Party Life and Party Democracy, Timely Questions"]

[Text] As preparations are made for the 13th congress, the issues of internal party life and the development of party democracy become more and more prominent. Participating in the roundtable discussion on this topic in the editorial office were Tibor Baranyai, head of the Central Committee's Department of Party and Mass Organizations; Mrs Ferenc Berenyi, party committee secretary of the State Mint; Peter Brody, party committee secretary of the seventh district; Tamas Kurucz, party committee secretary of the Bridge-Building Enterprise; Istvan Lehoczky, department head of the Budapest party committee; Imre Takacs, party committee secretary of the Csepel Metalworks; Imre Tanai, party committee secretary of the Somogy Megye; and Dezso Terbe, party committee secretary of the Bacs-Kiskun Megye. Sandor Lakos led the discussion on behalf of the editorial staff.

It is always timely to exchange words and thoughts about the issues of party life and party democracy but especially during the stage of preparations for the congress. When we survey and carefully examine the most important social phenomena, clearly we must first take a good look at issues connected with the party. Our examinations are further influenced by the significant circumstance that modernization of our political system has become the question of the day in several respects in recent years. Meaningful measures and initiatives have occurred in this direction, and additional changes will undoubtedly also take place. The party's activity and internal relations, which fill a leading role in the life of society, occupy a central position in the process of renewing the political system.

On account of the topic's extraordinarily complex nature, the discussion concentrated on two main questions: on the one hand, the party membership's participation in political decisions and the work character of party

forums; on the other hand, party life and the worker's movement, and the struggle against bureaucratism and formalism.

### Participation in Political Decisions

In connection with the introductory ideas, several persons stressed the political significance of party democracy's development. Effective assertion of party democracy is the most important condition for the party's ability to fulfill successfully its leading political role and to react sensitively to ripened needs for social evolution. By these means, the signaling system which--from the organ politically most active, most sensitive and most aware of its social responsibility--gives information about society's condition and internal relations and about contradictions awaiting solution can operate efficiently. Selection of the best solution among various alternatives as well as the party membership's active contribution to change can be assured only through party democracy.

One of party democracy's most important gauges is precisely the party members' participation in shaping decisions and formulating policy. The decisionmaking mechanism which provides a suitable opportunity for the party membership to express its opinion and assert its will has evolved over the years in MSZMP practice and has stood the test. This decisionmaking system depends on the experiences of a wide range of the party membership, on the opinion of social strata interested in the given issue, on the suggestions of experts and representatives of science, on the observations and standpoints of various social agencies and business federations, mass organizations and mass movements, and on the collectivity and responsibility of the party forum authorized to make the decision.

Tibor Baranyai said that in general this decisionmaking system characterizes MSZMP practice and is in harmony with the demands of the party's leading role. "The problem as I see it," he emphasized, "is that, as in every mechanism which consists of several elements, there may be and are functional disorders. This is not the manifestation of some kind of defective design but simply the expression of the objective fact that the individual sub-elements always interpose a viewpoint motivated by their own interests. The fact that we do not always rely on different elements with equal emphasis is perhaps connected with this. The opinion is heard every now and then that we do not pay adequate respect to the experts' standpoint. At other times we are upbraided for just the opposite: people say that the party membership's view is pushed into the background behind the experts' standpoint. Similar comments occur on behalf of mass organizations. I believe there may occasionally be truth behind some of them. Remarks like these always have to be examined concretely, and we must improve our work method in light of the experiences."

"The extensive debates which precede political decisions and the party membership's active involvement in the decisionmaking processes are rich traditions in our party," said Imre Tanai. "The membership methodically discusses the chief guidelines of policy before the congresses. It assesses the political activity of local party organizations in a comparable manner. The basic organizations' boards of directors render an account of their

work to the party membership at an annual general meeting. Nor is it an infrequent occurrence in our party that the party's leading organs request the party membership's opinion before a decision on each important political issue, recently, for example, in connection with the situation of youth, earlier with the work plan and work method."

Alongside acknowledgment of the foregoing, he found it necessary to stress that our opportunities are much greater than the use we make of them in practice. "This is noteworthy," he said, "because advancement is at the same time a social necessity and the requirement of the majority of party members. The party membership expects to be able to participate more effectively in both local and national politics, to have its voice heard and its opinion, comment and experience taken into consideration."

Drawing upon megye experiences, Dezso Terbe mentioned that the party organizations are very preoccupied with the opportunities and conditions for the party membership's broader participation in shaping political decisions at various levels, and practical solutions are sought. During preparations for several agendas, the megye party committee organized work groups consisting of association and work-committee members, social investigators and activists who, gathering information on the spot, met with local leaders in the economy and the workers movement, with party group stewards and party members without function. On several occasions, the party organizations have been asked for opinions and suggestions in connection with each topic to be examined. This is the way preparations were made for--among other things--their party committee session dealing with the work of basic organizations, with municipal party organs, with the activity of party organizations working in economic units and with the development of party democracy.

More and more frequently, the party organizations create special work groups to prepare for the debate on each topic and to oversee implementation of resolutions. The opportunity is taken in several places to commission or rather to request communist experts (sometimes those not party members) to work out alternatives to decisions primarily in economic policy. This increases the soundness of the party organization's standpoint, makes it possible for a number of party members to participate in the work and assures the economic leadership of more valuable and usable opinions.

Several emphasized at the same time that the assistance of experts--among them, communist experts--cannot replace the participation of a broader circle of party members. "Aside from whether it is a matter of experts who are communists or not party members," said Peter Brody, "the opinion of a broader circle of party members is not superfluous." This is the only way professional viewpoints can really be confronted with other kinds of considerations, last but not least, political ones. This is the only way views expressing diverse interests can clash and be reconciled. This is the only way the party can make allowance for the probable political requirements of individual solution forms and for the effects on different groups of workers. Yet in every political decision we must take into account how broad a circle the concurrence of opinion includes and what identification with it or objection to it is like.

It is, of course, impossible and unnecessary for us to always consult with every party member about everything, but we must do it for fundamental issues. This is also the indispensable condition for a good relationship, based on trust, between the membership and the leadership. If this trust exists, then it is unnecessary for us to launch a debate on every minor issue.

In this connection, Tamas Kurucz found it imperative that the most competent and esteemed party members receive information in due course and that there be an intensive exchange of ideas with them. It sometimes occurs that this circle is narrowed down unjustifiably, for example, in the preparatory work preceding this year's April session of the Central Committee. "In various circles there was an ongoing debate about the continued development of macroeconomic management," he said, "but the party organizations knew little about these things and about the gist of plans and ideas for development. Therefore, we were unable to adequately satisfy the legitimate interest of a significant share of party members before the Central Committee session. In my opinion, it is expedient to arrange standpoints of such great importance in a parallel manner. It seems to me that in recent years openness has declined in the party's internal life and in its relationship to the whole of society. This inevitably leads to a certain degree of mystification in efforts on behalf of the workers movement. It is my experience that many times the party members do not express an opinion on issues affecting themselves and other human beings because in point of fact they don't even really have ideas about their own situation. They don't know, for instance, how you should respond to various problems that turn up within a given economic unit. They need more information, particularly when the given question greatly concerns the workers, and the party members are expected to respond to it. It's a fact that our basic organizations are better informed about more general issues--even international politics--than about their immediate surroundings and about concepts pertaining to the solution of local problems."

Several persons took issue with the concept which limits the party membership's participation in the shaping of policy and its contribution to political decisions merely to some action or event considered special. It is indisputable that there are periods in the party's life when changes of great importance are on the agenda, such as party congresses or development plans which affect a more comprehensive area of social life. It is obvious that the party membership's direct participation in debates linked to such political decisions is more easily perceptible, if only because of the relatively broad circles of participants and the weight of the topic. "We must understand the party membership's participation in the shaping of policy in a broader sense, however," stressed Tibor Baranyai. "The significance of political involvement in the daily process of party work and the influence it exerts on decisions cannot escape our attention. If party life is influenced from day to day by political involvement, if political viewpoints assert themselves in discussions of various local and national issues, if a broad circle of the party membership makes its voice heard, expresses an opinion and gains a hearing with the authorized agencies, this means considerable participation in the development and formulation of policy."

## Forum for Clarification of Views

Several persons examined the state of party democracy and the tasks for strengthening it in light of the general development of a democratic attitude in social life. They took as their starting point that we might be the witnesses to an extraordinarily effervescent intellectual life. We are living in an age of the powerful development of science and technology and the acceleration of social changes. Naturally, this finds expression in various debates in our intellectual life. Not only scientists but also broader circles of reflective human beings are seeking solutions which correspond best to the new situation. What is permanently relevant in our former concept and what is necessary for us to correct inevitably emerge. As Emil Kimmel said, "In order for party members to hold their own in this debate and in order for their voice to be influential from a political and ideological viewpoint, more than anything else the issues must be clarified within the party and an agreement of principle on fundamental issues must be reached among party members. Without this, the debates become undefined and uncontrollable from a political and ideological viewpoint, and they unavoidably provoke intellectual chaos. That's why I consider it very important for all issues which concern society to obtain a suitable forum in the party. Today I see this as one of the main factors in the assertion of party democracy."

In the opinion of some, there are no special problems in this area. Sooner or later, the issues which affect broader circles of society will end up on the agenda at some level in the party. Noteworthy efforts are made to clarify the theories behind the issues and to disclose their political interconnections; the party press, journals and daily newspapers play a significant role in bringing them before the public. In the opinion of others, however, the picture is not at all satisfactory. A certain phase delay is discernible in undertaking some topics, occasionally even in the party press, but even more flagrant is the passiveness with which the party organizations handle these questions. It rarely happens that a forum is created for their discussion, for intellectual clarification. The party organizations should act more aggressively to influence views in a positive manner; this entire effort should be directed locally in a more deliberate and organized way. In this connection, Tamas Kurucz and others stressed above all the responsibility of the governing party organs, i.e., from such a viewpoint they do not show enough initiative or offer the basic organizations adequate help for the clarification of views.

Not only was the need for constructive debates mentioned during the discussion but also the conditions for them, among others, the interpretation of party democracy and democratic centralism, the level of polemic skills, the party membership's preparedness and the independence of party organizations.

Several persons remarked that we are inclined to narrow party democracy down to certain procedural questions and often neglect its political essence and meaning, namely, that democracy in party life means first and foremost intraparty relations in which diverse social interests sharply

emerge, find expression and are synthesized, in which the authentic interests are railed off from the supposedly false interests, an adequate classification evolves in the hierarchy of interests, and allowance is made for the genuine conditions and possibilities to implement the various interests.

"It's my conviction," said Istvan Lehoczky, "that we should work more purposefully. More than anything else, we should consider the creation of conditions which guarantee a broader space for the expression of different interests. We must listen with greater patience to the opinions of others, weigh the divergent standpoints, and more carefully say not only yes but with sensible arguments and due respect also no."

Lenin's interpretation and assertion of democratic centralism can assure conditions suitable to the development of such intraparty relations. Yet we do not always interpret democratic centralism in this spirit. Onesidedness can frequently be found in the enforcement of both democracy and centralism, and we are not always sufficiently sensitive to this. Rigid comparison of party discipline with democracy points to faulty thinking. Several persons stressed that the lack of an unambiguous position on party policy and laxity in discipline can in no way be regarded as a manifestation of greater democracy. As Imre Takacs said, "These are much rather the signs of anarchy, and we cannot be submissive in the face of anarchy." Certain experiences in recent years indicate that it is not superfluous to emphasize this.

Without denying its harmful nature, participants in the discussion directed their criticism primarily at those phenomena which are obstacles to democratic party life. "I find," said Peter Brody, "that we often extend the demand for uniform political thought and action which centralism truly embodies to details, practical methods of solution and procedural questions which are not of a political nature."

Mrs Ferenc Berenyi added these thoughts: "It's worthwhile to reflect on how many written and unwritten rules--in addition to organizational regulations--there are in connection with party life which often rigidify its democratic spirit. Some of these rules rise to the level of principle, and we drag them along, cling to them, even when life has long ago passed them by. Don't we often refer, by way of prevention, to democratic centralism and valid or supposedly valid rules at such times when we come across local initiatives stemming from democratic party life and new, perhaps unusual solutions?"

#### Independence and Overregulation

The view that party life "from top to bottom" is overregulated in many respects found unambiguous expression in the discussion. Regulations and resolutions are also made for matters in connection with which the decision could safely be entrusted to the local party organs and party membership. "Indeed, not only could, but definitely should," pointed out Imre Tanai,

"because those at the local level have the most solid grasp on the inter-realtions of the most important circumstances connected with practical solutions."

Istvan Lehoczky underscored this idea, among others, when he suggested that the supreme essence of party democracy is the decisionmaking authority, the active policy-forming role, the expression of opinion, in short, the competence of the lower party organs, the basic organizations. In this connection, the degree to which party life is regulated must also be examined. Overregulation inevitably weakens party democracy because it does not permit the competence of local party organs and party membership to develop. On the other hand, in reality it often appears or works out as if the leadership, the apparatus, lives the party life and not the membership itself; as if the party itself were identical with the former and not the latter.

Intraparty relations not only play a decisive role in policy but also exert a powerful influence on the emerging opinion about the party and have an enticing effect on those outside the party. Speaking about this, Peter Brody called attention to the fact that "in a section of today's youth--but not just young people--one comes across a certain erroneous conception of intraparty relations and, in connection with it, party democracy. Some believe that democratic centralism is totally inconsistent with democracy. It is said in these circles that the opportunities for independent thought in the party are restricted, there is little room for local or individual initiatives, people's hands are tied so that everything is precisely regulated, and the scope of independent action is very limited within this framework." But no matter how extremist these opinions are, it is worthwhile to examine what kind of experiences the erroneous conclusion is based on. What if party practice from time to time serves as a certain basis for it?

It is not, of course, inconsequential to what extent the party's internal life and relations are attractive to the circle of those who are not party members who take an interest in politics and public affairs. However, the harm of overregulation lies, above all, in the fact that it damages the party organizations' independence, the basic organizations' and the party membership's competence in the practice of their elementary rights and, hence, is inconsistent with democratic centralism.

The independence of basic organizations and the overregulation which harms it also came up in connection with changes in the economic, social and managerial system. Tibor Baranyai and others stressed that the party organizations' independence is closely affected by enterprise independence and the greater independence of factory units, by the more comprehensive independent activity of local councils, and by our efforts to place decisionmaking authority at the best levels. The locally authorized party organizations are thus presented with greater opportunities than before in the political judgment of concrete, economic, professional decisions, in the realistic appraisal of likely political effects and in the elaboration of issues of concrete content and methodology in political work. Possessing



knowledge of local conditions, they are able to judge most clearly to what degree the individual decisions make the best of resources and, furthermore, in what way they affect various groups of workers, how it is possible to employ propaganda most efficiently in their province in order to identify themselves convincingly with enterprise and professional resolutions.

"The efforts which are directed at the development of local independence are not of recent date," said Tibor Baranyai. "This process had developed more and more precisely over several years, and the trend will undoubtedly grow stronger in the future. So far, we have made allowance for what finds expression in the greater independence of party organizations. But we must also see that we still haven't reached the level which the present situation requires, not to mention the demands which will arise in the wake of probable changes."

Several persons argued that we could and should do everything today in the interest of greater independence. It would thus be necessary, for example, to place a significant part of the cadre authority at lower levels, where the possibilities for realistic judgment are more favorable. There is no need to spoon-feed anyone or to specify methods of practical solution and minor details of political tasks, usually of a compulsory nature. It must be noted that today, 40 years after the liberation, the majority of party members have sufficient experience and adequate preparation to recognize independently what needs to be done locally in timely political tasks. Indeed, the probability is great that they are able to do it better and more precisely than the guiding party organs which are farther from the local practice and have less information about the given concrete relations and circumstances. That is why regulations which come from above often do not extend beyond formal--organizational--phases. The genuine connections generally do come about if we understand how to exploit the circumstances which result from the concrete relations and which substantially influence practical implementation.

Istvan Lehoczky pointed out that the basic organizations' independence is inseparable from who has what role in policy. The concept that the higher organs make policy and the lower organs implement it is fundamentally wrong. "The key to the issue of independence is in there somewhere. I'm convinced that a policy can be implemented in a party organization only if, in accordance with local conditions--and preserving the basic principles unharmed--they shape the 'big policy' in a small way and at the same time enrich it with their experiences. I believe that the MSZMP interprets the principle of democratic centralism in such a spirit." Mrs. Ferenc Berenyi emphasized that under conditions of independence the opportunity arises for the party members' creativity and analytical and task-sensitive capacity to emerge and develop according to requirements. Party democracy interpreted in this way assures a practical terrain for the party members' political growth.

In connection with the political activation of party members, Dezso Terbe underscored that certain issues deserved greater attention. Do we know how to debate in a civilized manner so that we don't offend anyone during the

debate and we ourselves do not take umbrage at legitimate comments? Do we put the party membership in such a position that it can fully express an opinion on the given topic? Do we place on the agenda that which is of topical interest then and there and calls for a political decision? He added that the party members' participation in the debates is also influenced by whether authentic measures are taken in response to their comments and proposals, whether the latter are taken into account when decisions are made, and whether their questions receive a suitable answer.

"In order for a genuine and productive debate to emerge," added Imre Tanai, "it is first and foremost necessary for the debate participants to receive adequate information about the essential ideas of the topic under discussion. Let them know about possible alternative decisions through a classification which makes orientation easier and through a statement of advantages and disadvantages. In brief, let the party members receive--from various reports--ideas to which they can attach their experiences. The general opinion is that this viewpoint is occasionally pushed into the background, and the reports do not always meet these requirements."

In this connection, Mrs Ferenc Berenyi voiced the opinion that many things in the basic organizations restrict broader emergence of genuine political debates. Party life is burdened by a relatively large number of programs and commitments--prescribed from above--which are not absolutely necessary. They consume time and take away energy from the discussion of more worthy issues. The general party meetings are especially overcrowded. The basic organizations--where, as everyone knows, nonexempt party workers toil--are almost constantly overburdened and pressed for time.

#### Starting from Reality

"The basic organizations are not primarily responsible for the pileup of work and the press for time," emphasized Tibor Baranyai. "The trouble, as I see it, is that the guiding party organs often lack a realistic attitude. For each of their decisions they do not take into account the actual circumstances in which the basic organizations work. What we must attain is that in the identification of tasks the basic organization never loses sight of what it is possible to achieve there from our concepts. We must honestly say that today we swamp them with many more things to do than they can accomplish."

Participants in the discussion saw the large number of programs and agenda items of an informative nature as one of the reasons for the general party meetings' overburdened nature. These frequently take up all the available time. Although information pertaining to the work of leading organs and domestic and international events is closely linked with party democracy, it is still worth considering whether it would not be expedient to choose more efficiently to what extent, in what form and about what subject we give information.

"It would be worthwhile from the standpoint of content to examine these information programs more carefully," said Dezso Terbe. "A lot of the

information is on the level of generalities, uninteresting, repetitive. The party organizations must give more consideration to when general party meetings are convened and when other programs are organized. If we want the substantial issues to receive greater play in the political programs of our party organizations, we must use time more sensibly. We must not over-tax the party membership's time or patience."

Imre Takacs also stressed the importance of information. Speaking about its quantity, he expressed the opinion that "there is a need for selective differentiation with good taste. To resort to an extreme example: the party organization's secretary doesn't have to be as well-versed in international issues as the foreign affairs minister, for instance. We should give as much information as is plainly necessary there in the given place. More may be unsatisfactory if they don't know what to do with it, if it hampers recognition of what is essential. Moreover, information about local issues deserves greater attention. For example: what did the leadership resolve, why did it decide thus and not otherwise, what speaks on behalf of the resolution and what against it? It is no less important to know what the resolution's fate was, how it was implemented, what conclusion was drawn from it by communists working in the economic, state or mass organizations with respect to their own tasks, etc."

In connection with notions about the overburdening of the basic organizations, Peter Brody explained that the tasks obtained often have no relation to the issues of political work. Formalism, habit and the bureaucratic work method produce these superfluous tasks. For example, we do not usually place a topic on the agenda when there is a need for it locally but rather when it is ordered--at which time it must be discussed, even if by chance it was already on the agenda a short time before. When we discuss each topic, it is not the actual outcome which is decisive but formal completion of the discussion. This is why the collection of data and the preparation of bulletins comprise a significant part of the work in basic organizations. These phenomena are not only harmful within the party organs but also set a bad example for their surroundings.

In our country, according to Emil Kimmel, political work is frequently regarded as identical with programs. Yet there may be much more effective forms as well, for instance, private conversations with some individuals about current political issues. "In connection with the intraparty phenomenon of officialism, we must realize that we are faced here with a contradiction. The party movement is opposed to bureaucratism, and yet as an organization the party engenders bureaucratism and indeed, under certain circumstances, exploits it. If the organizational activity is excessive or destined to serve its own end, if it is no longer the instrument of specific political goals, then the political content is inevitably forced into the background. It is never permissible to forget this. That's why it's necessary for us to deal more painstakingly with the modernization of our organizational activity and our work method. We must create a ranking of verbal reports and messages within the party. After all, precisely this may now and then be the most trustworthy information."

Several persons remarked that our adoption of a more uniform and modern data supply system in the party would be an antidote for the excessive paperwork and deluge of reports. Now the practice is that if the guiding party organs place a topic on the agenda, they begin by collecting data. A questionnaire with an enormous number of questions is prepared, and it is sent to the basic organizations to be filled out. We often turn out questionnaires and questions even when the answers are obvious and unambiguous to everyone.

Speaking about the formal elements of work, Imre Tanai mentioned a likewise current issue. "Now that the general report-back party meetings are approaching, we have found that some party committees have adopted the viewpoint that the report has to be concerned with everything. In some places, even the order and scope of the questions are prescribed. We came out against this. It was our opinion that we have no right to tie the hands of the basic organizations. We let them decide what they should concern themselves with, which questions they should devote greater or less attention to. Let them weigh the pros and cons of what is important or less important to them."

A noteworthy remark was heard in relation to this: the guiding party committees often demand the same quantitative performance from the basic organizations under their direct guidance as from the party committees, even though--as everyone knows--their working conditions are far from identical.

"It is also pertinent to party democracy," said Emil Kimmel, "that the guiding party organs not merely load the basic organizations with tasks but also call for their opinion. This is important, because one of the basic organizations' tasks is to transmit and represent the narrower group interests. It's not a matter of our favoring one-sidedness and urging apathy toward more universal interests. The twofold sensitivity can and must be reconciled. If it doesn't happen this way--and nowadays it is rather frequent--then the representation of local interests can easily slip out of the party organizations' hands and occupy a position outside the party."

There is no possibility, within the framework of a general document, for a detailed explanation of every topic over and above the most important ideas. One can rather only make clear what kind of questions came up and what engrossed the attention of the discussion participants. This in itself can be instructive, especially if it stimulates further thought, if it strengthens our critical perception of methods and relations which emerge in practice and fosters the development of better solutions in keeping with political tasks.

12327

CSO: 2500/100

# ATTITUDES, INTEREST IN MARXIST THEORY ANALYZED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 26 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Laszlo Garai: "A Word About Something About which There Are No Words"]

[Text] In ELET ES IRODALOM No 39, Zsolt Papp mentions a brilliant detailed analysis of Marxist philology, which he suspects not many people are reading; appearing in a learned journal in connection with Marx's anniversary, it is an outstanding study that 20 years ago would still have kicked up a huge fuss, and today remains without an echo. Let us add the rhetorical question: How many people read Lukacs' three volumes "On the Ontology of Social Existence" in 1976? And how big an echo did the Hungarian-language publication of the "Grundrisse" produce in 1972, considering that 10 years earlier an entire generation had discovered, through a text of Marx's "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts" that appeared in Hungarian, that society and history are comprehensible?

I say that the question is rhetorical: from the evolution of reading habits vis-a-vis high-quality Marxist technical literature, it does not appear very likely that a fact-finding investigation concerning the sixties would have been prepared in the seventies. This however passed in the spirit of respect for the facts and their investigation. Zsolt Papp also mentions an encounter with a dozen or so representatives of that generation which found disappointment, already written into its genetic code, in every social theory and with curiosity cross-examined the fossil that perhaps could yet confess what it is like when man himself, discovering the hard social facts, loses faith in Marx's total explanation of society.

On the other hand Zsolt Papp introduces a "neo-Marxist epidemic," which is spreading beyond the European continent and displays interest in everything that only abstract social theory has ever been interested in: stagnation and acceleration, economy and state, bureaucracy and civil society, progressive or conservative classes and the choice of the middle class between these two possible orientations....

The business of Marx's theory and everyday facts therefore stands one way within our country and another way beyond our continent. And between these two geographic regions?--I would ask, standing on tip-toe out of my curiosity. But Zsolt Papp cautions: from other areas not a word now.

So, I will put the question differently.

It so happened that I spent the last 3 1/2 years of my life between the two geographic areas, principally in France, where I worked, but elsewhere as well, if my university sent me or allowed me to go--for example, in Belgium, where the Vrije Universiteit of Brussels invited me to an international colloquium on Marx that it had organized.

I turned up furthermore in Greece, where my landlord, whose hospitality I enjoyed, directed a Marxist (not Marxist studies, Marxist) institute, and in Italy, where the Fondazione di Cultura Internazionale of Milan spends--and has industrial and financial institutions spend--significant sums for the investigation of a phenomenon they designate as a second Renaissance. By this they understand a social process--indeed, a process embracing an inter-societal totality--whose essence they see--in my view, and here I bear full responsibility for the formulation--in the fact that man again, as at the time of the first Renaissance, is demanding back the work of creation for himself, this time however not from a divine Creator, but from the system of machines and from the social organization built around it. Well, in this association quite lively interest was piqued by the fact that among scholars of Marx's theory of society, who themselves also nursed an interest in the real emancipation of the social totality and of man within it, there once were those who examined this same historical process under the following name: scientific-technical revolution.

Well then, what I observed everywhere between these areas within our country and beyond our continent may be summarized in the following two points:

1. Nowadays they do not commission Marxists to discover new social facts beyond the borders of our country.
2. On the other hand, neither can they dispense with 'Doctor Marx' as far as the high-level satisfaction of academic interest in abstract scholarly issues of social theory within the borders of our continent is concerned. And they do not even want to. In France for example the most prestigious publisher, Gallimard, has just now issued his works in three volumes--most of them in the first philologically authoritative edition--in the most prestigious series, the Pleiades. One may also mention the Presses Universitaires de France, which also devotes two of its quite good encyclopedic dictionaries to Marxism, and no social scientist by profession can do without either one of these handbooks. And while the books mentioned are by their nature of greater interest to the French specialist, books are also to be found that I would gladly recommend even to a publisher producing for the market of a Hungarian professional audience--true, even in French these have often appeared as translations. There is for example the volume entitled "Language and Production", translated from English, in which Gyorgy Markus defends Marx's theory against its highest-level opponents in linguistic philosophy--and against its positivist supporters--and on a level worthy of this.

My question therefore, concerning the area between the two geographic regions, I now pose as follows: between these two points--the empiricism of the new social facts, and the theory of the specialized branch of learning dealing with society--what is the situation with Marxism, with what after all, has to do primarily with the same kind of social practice between social empiricism and sociological theory?

Or with various kinds?

Of course I know, all of us know, it has even been put in writing, it is a cliché: those forms of social practice maintaining that they have to do with Marxism--what is more, that it is Marxism they have to do with; and yes, even that it is they who have to do with Marxism--rang off between 1968 and 1974. Neither the social practice that installs rockets, nor the one that protests against it, knows particularly what to do with Marxism. Nor does that social practice have more to do with it which is ready to pay the price--or have it paid--for a radical economic modernization, only let it be possible by around the turn of the decade to get through the crisis that has lasted 10 years, without a great social upheaval; nor however that other one, which is ready to pay the price--or have it paid--for the further conservation of an antiquated production structure, only let it be possible, without a great social upheaval, to protect special interests against other special interests that had earlier reached a compromise with them.

However, such a social practice unquestionably existed in the past. It is precisely this that is unquestionable, that the post-capitalist configurations of the present are somehow also the products of this practice of the past. For this reason then, if indeed it is true that those embittered and disillusioned with Marxism from time to time speak in this way: "The Marxists have only altered the world in various ways; the task is for us to explain it"--then too they are waiting, seeking, debating the explanation for this altered world.

Thus what every experience of these 3 1/2 years has unanimously attested is that among professional social scientists and missionary Marxists there is an influence far beyond its own significance whereby Marxist knowledge seeks to explain that which has become altered in the world by Marxist intention.

Such is the case with that book, for example, whose author does nothing else but repeat the same train of thought with which Serge Mallet and Andre Gorz previously came to the conclusion that the highly qualified technical and economic intelligentsia, since it offers its labor for sale, comprises a part--but a very special part--of the working class. He repeats, I say, this train of thought, only as far as just "actually existing socialism" is concerned, the concept of which this book brought to common awareness--in place of the previously popular idea of "socialism as transition."

This being granted, I am not saying that, if this book were to appear in the Hungarian language--instead of, as Zsolt Papp mentions, in the works of Mallet and Gorz that appeared in the sixties and still not published here--,



then either the official or an opposition mentality in Hungary today would be happy with the conclusions it reaches after debating the issue of who are the fellow members within a class today and who are not. What I am saying instead, is interconnected with what Lukacs, in one of his interviews in the sixties, pointed out: that in fact it would be possible to lay the foundation of a socialist reform of the economic mechanism with the kind of theoretical work that would above all clarify the socialist and economic quality of the systems that are to be created. Thus, in today's Hungary has need for this kind of social self-knowledge, then knowledge of those alternatives set forth in this book would contribute in large measure to its satisfaction.

The influence of that other book, whose author--an outstanding Marxist historian who also knows an enormous body of facts from personal experience--subjects the Leninist-type party to economic analysis, likewise extends far beyond the circle of those who by virtue of their profession are curious about concrete social facts or abstract social theories. It starts from the consideration that if the intervention of the state in economic processes is growing everywhere in post-capitalist economic configurations, while within this framework in "actually existing socialism" the party directs the state, then the party cannot be described merely by political science and ideological concepts. The starting point of its economic analysis is the category of professional revolutionary developed by Lenin, whose determining economic characteristic it sees in the fact that persons belonging to it have not maintained their existence in a way characteristic of any of the three classes of capitalist society, and thus not from profit on their capital, not from rent on their land, nor from the sale of their labor--not even before the revolution. Democratic centralism also comes in for examination in its economic function, as that organizational principle which is capable of fashioning an organization operating between the above category and the party membership, with the kind of stability that endured even at a time when first during the Civil War, then during the membership recruitment campaign following Lenin's death, the individual composition of the party membership was changed, while later, at the time of the Stalin trials and extra-judicial settlements of accounts, it was also that of the category of professionals. What is the economic necessity for the existence of such an organization in a post-capitalist economic system--that is the central question of this book, which explains the intellectual furor that it aroused beyond the borders of our country but within the borders of our continent.

And in connection with this book again only the same thing can be said, which is interconnected with the preceding: if today's Hungary has a need for the kind of social self-knowledge to which Lukacs' above-mentioned declaration refers, then knowledge of the nomenclature pertaining to the questions expressed in the book under discussion would contribute in large measure to its satisfaction.

If such a need exists, that may not only create a market in Hungary for the importation of Marxist literature, but after a time perhaps even revive domestic Marxist theoretical work, since it decayed into a pronounced lack



of demand for social self-knowledge in the seventies, a period when society's curiosity about itself was expressed in its entirety in this question: "What's new?"--and in this--"And now what should we do?".

If on the other hand there does not exist henceforth either, if there were not to exist, any demand for society to recognize its own deep structure or its hidden operation behind the appearances of facts, then the issue of who is tinkering away with these facts and who reads the kinds of theoretical works that Zsolt Papp might recommend to the Hungarian publisher with these words is the private affair of a specialized branch of learning: "Suppose this speaks to us too....For the author is merely writing a line and a half about existing socialism, and that also consists of the fact that he has not yet investigated this. Therefore--it will do no harm!"

8971

CSO: 2500/78

## PZPR 17TH PLENUM CRITIQUED IN ECONOMIC WEEKLY

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 45, 4 Nov 84 p 1

[Editorial commentary by S.C.: "State, Democracy, Socialism"]

[Text] In different historical moments, various functions of the people's state came to occupy the first position. In the past few years the realization of the line of agreement and battle clearly reminded us that our state is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Sometimes the dictatorship of the proletariat is contrasted with the conceptions of democracy. Those pointing out the contradiction forget that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not limited to the function of a compulsion of force, and that its main task is to restructure production and social relations in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the nation. Its basic purpose is to draw and organize the broadest circles of people to active work and activity in the political and economic spheres, therefore also to deepen and broaden socialist democracy.

Not incidentally the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee reminded us today of these truths. The over 3-year period which passed since the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party was, after all, a period of a struggle to eliminate from social life the enemies of the socialist system and of the people's state; it was also a period of a struggle to draw broad masses of working people to the realization of the party line, to pull them out of inertia and apathy. Moreover, the point was and is to involve the masses in the solving of all important social and economic issues, because only in this way can the margin of wrong decisions be minimized; at the same time, to assure a sufficiently effective realization of just decisions.

Since the Ninth Congress, our country has been undergoing the greatest-- from the time of the establishment of new systemic principles after the war-- process of political, social and economic reforms. Most of them have received a legal form and several different statutes are in their final stage of preparation. The most important task now is the realization of the new principles, which requires not only an enormous effort on the part of the state and the economic administration, but also on the part of the citizens. It is not easy to learn democracy; to recognize not only one's own right to voice one's opinions and views, but also to submit to the will of the majority and to act according with the law expressing this will.

The complicated course of the process of the reforms can be clearly seen on the example of the economic reform. The theses of the 17th Plenum list four key tasks connected with it:

- strengthen the strategic role and effectiveness of central planning;
- consolidate the position of worker self-management in enterprises;
- improve the economic instruments for managing the economy;
- adjust further the structures and practice of the functioning of the state's central apparatus to the achieved stage of the realization of the reform.

An examination of these tasks clearly shows that the point is, above all, to learn to use better the created possibilities of the present system of the functioning of the economy. This, however, is not an easy matter.

Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski in his concluding statement devoted much attention to the methods of the execution of power, which also fully concerns the management of the economy. The authorities formerly had it much easier to make decisions, but now it has become dramatically more difficult. The democratic procedure of taking into consideration the opinions and interests of various groups and milieus often prolongs the decision making procedure, but it forces a confrontation of one's views and arguments with the views of others, and as a result allows for the best solutions to be accepted for realization. Moreover, it allows to avoid situations in which those who exercise power always "know best," and decide about everything, thus relieving people from responsibility, while at the same time creating foundations for expectations that do not take the real economic possibilities into account.

There is no lack of old habits of action--there were many examples of it also at the plenum. This is connected directly with the question of worker self-management. In the closing remarks the question was asked: "How is it that many workers believe they have no influence over what happens in their places of work?"

This is undoubtedly the result of the weakness of worker self-management bodies, and the fact that there is not faith in the permanency of their rights in all links. This is an important signal, saying that in the process of management there is an "empty field," which regardless of what the statutes and resolutions say, will be filled with administrative decisions, strengthening the tendency for autocratic actions as well as for, unfortunately, arbitrary ones. Making use of one's rights is also part of fulfilling one's civic duty.

The process of the learning of democracy must, therefore, continue both at the bottom and on the top. During the discussion at the plenum, self-management bodies received differing evaluations--which is fully understandable because they do function differently, and sometimes they do not function at all. Nevertheless they must become a continually more important element of the management of enterprises, influencing the activities of enterprises and becoming an element of the improvement of good management and labor efficiency. Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's statement that when it is easy to rule the cause suffers, and when it is more difficult--it is better for our goals, probably also applies to that problem.

The issues of the state, democracy and social discipline, stated at the 17th Plenum, are not only of current importance, specifying the line of agreement and of struggle, and consolidating the process of the reforms; they also are of future importance. Today, when making changes, we must take into account many conditions which in a significant way influence the economic and social processes. The overcoming of these conditions is not easy, it requires time and a determination of action. It also requires that society's moods, experiences and doubts be taken into account. The achievement of the past 3 years, even though far removed from expectations and needs, allows us to believe that we shall gradually ease many objective difficulties and as a result the social consciousness will change. When this comes, the process of changes will receive a new basis, a new propelling force. Then also the more general output of the 17th Plenum will take on an additional significance, particularly as a premise and direction for the future program of the party, which the Tenth Congress is to resolve.

12270

CSO: 2600/314

## PZPR JOURNAL WRAPS UP DEBATE ON 'POLISH HONG KONG'

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 84 pp 151-152

## [Editorial commentary]

[Text] A fragment of the article by Eugeniusz Gajewski, Wieslaw Iwanicki and Ludwik Maznicki entitled "On certain myths and mystifications," published in No 4/1984, concerning the matter of the "Polish Hong Kong," generated certain thoughts. The article pointed out, among other things, the irrationality of such projects and the harmfulness of exciting public opinion by the existence of supposed enormous possibilities for fabulous profits and multi-billion revenues in hard currency. The article pointed out the fragility of calculations made by the advocates of the "Polish Hong Kong" and the deceptiveness of hopes of solving Polish payment problems in this way. This aspect of the matter of the "Polish Hong Kong" and many other obvious inaccuracies included in the publications of its advocates also were brought to light by Zofia Florczak in an article published in No 9/1984 of NOWE DROGI in the "Polemiki" column. In the current number we publish the statements of Zbigniew Zdzislaw Lesiak, who as an advocate of the creation of a duty-free zone in Poland in the ports of Szczecin-Swinoujscie takes up a polemic with the authors of the article "On certain myths and mystifications," and Piotr Cegielski, who points out a number of obvious weaknesses of such a conception and the evident unreliability of information supporting it.

Herewith we end the publication of statements concerning the "Polish Hong Kong." It seems that everything, or nearly everything, on this subject has been said. The contents of statements already published on this subject as well as those which have remained in the editorial drawer give us the right to that assertion. Of course, we are talking about substantive arguments, not the invectives and slanders addressed to all those who dared to unmask the weakness and deceptiveness of the conception in question, and to place it in the category of myth.

The "Polish Hong Kong" turned out to be not only another myth in the sphere of economics, but a particular kind of mystification, because the popularization of this idea was accompanied by a certain kind of juggling of figures lacking sufficient, substantive support; at the same time it was done with information not always precise (for example, regarding duty-free zones of socialist countries).

The deceptiveness of the said conceptions consists, however, not only in the lack of sufficient and reliable data to support it, but also in the fact that it does not take into account at all the concrete political and socioeconomic conditions of Poland and the contemporary world. As if nothing happened in the past few years! As if Reagan sanctions, which resulted in multi-billion losses for our country, did not take place! As if there had not been a new wave of the activization of West German revisionism and demands for a return of the borders of 1937! As if there were no threats to world peace as the result of the installation of new U.S. medium range missiles in Europe!

In view of such numerous, often brutal methods of political and economic discrimination used in the past few years against our country, can we allow ourselves such naivete?

Thus if we have decided to devote so much space to the issue of the "Polish Hong Kong," it was for the purpose of quashing this myth altogether. If anyone still harbored any illusions that it could be a "way out of the Polish crisis," then by objective comparison of arguments pro and against one must realize that it would be just another way of walking into a trap.

Such a luxury we cannot afford, particularly today! On the other hand, dazzling public opinion with unrealistic conceptions which cannot be realized due to both internal and external conditions can only serve to divert our attention from essential issues, on which the success of our efforts to lead the economy out of the crisis and to improve its functioning depends.

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CSO: 2600/314

PZPR ORGAN DEBATING CLUB ADDRESSES CENSORSHIP ISSUE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by (a1): "Censorship Without Secrets; In the Debating Club of TRYBUNA LUDU in the Warynski Factory"]

[Text] A meeting in the debating club of TRYBUNA LUDU in the L. Warynski Construction Equipment Factory in Warsaw, which took place on the 18th of this month, was devoted to the functioning of censorship in our country. Members of the club hosted the deputy chairman of the Main Office of Control of Publications and Performances [GUKPiW], Marian Andrzejewski.

In the introduction he reviewed basic principles of the Law on the Control of Publications and Performances, which was passed by the Sejm in July 1981 and became effective in October 1981. He talked about the organizational structure of the GUKPiW and the scope of its activities. In a reply to one of many questions he also said that his office is directly responsible to the Council of the State and therefore is not itself free from control. Control is also exercised by the social collegium of the GUKPiW, which includes representatives of the journalistic, scientific, and artistic professions.

During a very lively discussion which developed at the meeting, it was asked how the law on the control of publications functioned under martial law, and the regulation of the publication of archival materials, e.g., related to the period of World War II, or Polish history, was questioned. Club members were also interested in specific provisions of the law concerning, for example, the protection of state secrets and the problems of interpreting the law by the employees of the censorship office.

The exchange of views touched upon broader problems, such as the limits of creative freedom of writers and scientists, the average person's access to certain publications and source materials concerning, e.g., the recent history of Poland. The guest explained the policies, adopted all over the world by specialized archives, with regard to gathering and providing access to documents of the recent history of states, as well as the rules of their publication.

# OFFICERS SUMMARIZE CAREERS, DEPLORE NEW GENERATION

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 10, Oct 84 pp 31-36

[Record of discussion by editorial staff members and 1961 graduates of officers' school, prepared by Col Ignacy Olszewski: "If We Were To Start All Over Again"]

[Text] For the third time we have been host in our editorial offices to a group of officers who, in 1961, graduated from officers' school at the top of their class. Our first meeting with them was held in 1962. The second was held 10 years later. We published the record of those discussions in our January 1963 and April 1974 issues. If during the first meeting on the subject of their professional beginnings the young second lieutenants talked primarily about themselves, about the official and private matters closest to them, then in the successive meetings they had a much more general outlook, pertaining to certain events.

The meeting, which was held this year, was attended by: LtCol Kazimierz Bartosz, LtCol Alfred Glock, Col Wladyslaw Komarzanski, LtCol Jozef Nowacki, Col Wladyslaw Rybarski and Col Henryk Szkodziak. The editorial staff was represented by Cols Tadeusz Badowski, Zdzislaw Czerwinski and Ignacy Olszewski.

Out of the extensive record of the discussion, numbering over 60 typewritten pages, we selected the most important, in our opinion, parts, which we wish to present to our readers.

## What Were the Young People Like Then and What Are They Like Now?

Col Z. Czerwinski: I am happy to welcome you in our editorial offices after so many years. I suggest that now that we are richer by the experience of past years we express ourselves on the following questions:

--How do you now assess the motivation to enter military service? Has anything changed? How was it when you were young and how is it today? The young people who are now entering service, what are they like? What are their chances of making a living, of obtaining promotions and making a career of it?



--What kind of social atmosphere is there in the groups in which you comrades work? Is it an atmosphere of cooperation, or just an atmosphere of vegetation? What does the establishment of a good atmosphere depend upon? I am referring here to the question of work organization, the utilization of a person, his energy and his knowledge. What does this look like from the perspective of 13 years?

--In the superior-subordinate relationship, what prevails--partnership or paternalism, constant teaching, leading by the hand, mistrust and suspicion?

Col W. Komarzanski: We would like to dedicate today's meeting to the initiator of this wonderful event, to the now-deceased Col Skrzypkowski. It was at his initiative that the first meeting was held, then the second. He was then the editor-in-chief of our monthly. It seems to me that he deserves a tribute. Regardless of whether or not there will be any more meetings, they are worthy of special note. They are unique.

Col Z. Czerwinski: Thank you, Comrade Colonel, for remembering that our deceased colleague, Skrzypkowski, was the initiator of these meetings. He was a "restless" spirit, always liked something new and what is most important, something always came of this. We are continuing many of his innovative ideas and trying to expand what he once started. An example of this, among others, is today's meeting.

Col W. Komarzanski: One more thing. Would it not be well for us to meet with the top students of the new generation? It is generally accepted that a generation equals 25 years. Such a meeting, therefore, would fall in 1986.

Col Z. Czerwinski: That is a good idea. Maybe something would come out that would have publicity value, to say nothing of that fact that this would be good sociological material, certainly useful in the future.

Col W. Komarzanski: From the perspective of 23 years of professional service, plus three years of officers' school, it seems to me that I would make the same choice now as I did then. Many factors contributed to my decision, above all a sentiment towards the uniform which evolved from the family atmosphere. My father was a soldier in the Sixth Infantry Division and he frequently talked about his experiences on the front line. Aside from some small lapses, my military service, generally speaking, is going well. I have reason to be satisfied with what I have done.

How, in the context, of what I have just said, do I look upon the attitudes of the present young people?

They are subject to the same changes which occur in society. All of the unfavorable events reflect also on those who go into military service, therefore on the officer cadets also. Today's youth is corrupted, to a certain degree, by the attitude of consumerism. They want everything as quickly as possible. This is probably the result of a devaluation of values that are higher than material values. Consumerism attitudes exert a tremendous pressure on youth, putting it, let me say, in a position of unavailability, which sometimes cancels out its chances of achieving a military career, in the positive sense.

Sometimes we see a formal approach to duties, as if there were no need to take action or take a definite position or viewpoint.

Col Z. Czerwinski: Certainly consumer attitudes are prevalent. But is this not to some extent a measure of progress in civilization? Twenty years ago we were working our way up. Many of us started with nothing, or with almost nothing. But over the years society went forward and the standard of living and material conditions began to become differentiated. A young person evaluates the situation and stops to think about where it would be best to settle and what kind of profession to choose. Furthermore, there was the lack of conformance of words with deeds. People who mouthed platitudes about social justice elbowed their way through life and this corrupted some of the young generation. I do not want to absolve the young, but I am trying to look realistically upon the consumerism attitude of the youth and determine what caused it. This is a subject for upbringing work, for talks about how to stimulate, kindle and liberate moral motives to serve.

Col W. Komarzanski: It seems to me that it is not necessary to advertise good merchandise. But it is essential that a situation be created in which a young boy could see for himself that going into the army is worthwhile. Our work should be on a broader scale and through a reformed process of upbringing in the schools and college strive to gain the minds of the young. Insofar as military service is concerned, the youth are interested in not only the beginnings but also in the entire course of the service. Some mechanisms, whether in cadre policy or in promotion and decoration practices, work differently. There are too many subjective factors here. At least that is what I believe. And a person, just like a plant, adapts himself to a situation. This, too, injures the character of the young.

Col W. Rybarski: It seems to be that a certain mechanism functioning in the family, in the surroundings, and in society has played a part in shaping the attitudes of youth. What kind of mechanism? We know in what kind of times the generation which was born during the war grew up. Those were days of poverty. People said: "I had it bad, I want my children to have it better." Without regard to whether they could afford it or not. This is how we brought up the youth in the spirit of consumerism.

Col H. Szkodziak: Many factors contributed to the attitudes of youth. The level of the teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, the lack of patriotic upbringing. But also the attitude of the parents and their relationship to reality. I was a commander in the officers' school. I saw how each year we obtained other material, let us call it that, other candidates for officers. Not too long ago I read that 70 to 80 percent of the students in the officers' schools are the sons of workers and peasants. But there is no intelligentsia, because its motivation for the profession of a military officer is different. Academic-type schools are being built in the large urban centers and in the provincial cities. What is going on there? Certainly it is not a coincidence that the attitudes of the children of the cadre in the civilian teaching institutions also leave a great deal to be desired.

Colonel Komarzanski said that he would again choose the profession of officer. So would I. In life we have to do what we like. And yet examples can be shown attesting to the fact that those who were not accepted for their chosen courses in civilian schools are going to officers' schools.

Another matter is the acceptance of a young officer in a unit. How does he feel? How has his adult life begun? What is the relationship of the superiors to a young person? He may be the best officer but if during the first two years we do not lead him the right way we will lose his ambition and certainly will not want to be transferred from a large garrison to a small one, despite the fact that after three years he will again return to this garrison.

LtCol A. Glock: In my opinion the training of officers still leaves a great deal to be desired. At least the alternative studies and the cadet practices. The idea itself is most correct, but how about the execution? After two years of study the cadet goes to a unit for a year's practical experience. After promotion he should go where he served this experience, even to the same sub-unit. There are various specialties in the schools. For example, in the Higher Rocket and Artillery Troops Officers' School one of the specialties is anti-armor guided missiles. Yet a cadet with this specialty takes his practical training in an artillery-gun unit. The battery commander, knowing from the start that he will not return, gives him a very good rating. If this officer knew that after promotion this cadet will return to him as a platoon commander, he would talk to him differently and would evaluate his work differently.

Col H. Szkodziak: A good professional start really depends on the atmosphere in a unit. I was lucky that the atmosphere was good where I served. The young cadre were well received and this helped both me and my colleagues. We are now trying to deal the same way with the young cadre. It is true that this term now has a somewhat different meaning. Here we are not talking about second lieutenants, but about captains and majors. What is most important is that each officer know his place at his work and that he be properly treated by his superiors. Because, after all, an officer, to tell the truth, starts from the beginning several times during his service.

Col K. Komarzanski: I believe that in practice there is a lack of objectively functioning criteria of development, on the basis of which a person could guide himself and find himself somewhere. What am I aiming at? Is there a mechanism which would force each graduate of an officers' school to serve at least five years in a faroff garrison? There is not. There will always be 10 protectors who will see to it that a given officer is assigned immediately to a central institution or on some kind of staff, anyplace but in a distant garrison.

The next matter. Many men of conscript or pre-conscript age do everything to obtain a medical certificate attesting to their inability to perform military service. And many of them are successful. Why? Because again, the patrons are there.

LtCol J. Nowacki: The previous speakers have rightly observed that we pay too little attention to the reasons for the attitudes of the young. And frequently they arise in the family. An unsuitable atmosphere carries over from the home to the job. Where are parents supposed to do their talking? They do so at home. We often look at young people very critically. And after all, they are extremely sharp, and sensitive to fairness which is frequently lacking.

We ask ourselves: In order to make a career for oneself, is it necessary to serve well, or to serve others? Unfortunately, it is sometimes the latter. I knew an officer who went up the ladder faster than the others. He was the chief of supply. Instead of concerning himself with supplies for the institution, he concerned himself somewhat with supplies for specific people.

An example from my own experience. I had an opportunity once to go on to a higher position. Unfortunately, I was not released. I was necessary, because I taught four subjects at the same time.

Along comes a young officer after graduation from the Military Technical Academy, having completed six years of study. He graduated in engineering physics. He avoids any kind of work because he knows that if he does not do productive work he will be sent to some kind of course in order to get rid of him. And a person who regards his duties seriously is the loser.

For two terms I was a committee member, a secretary. I made some observations during that period. Unfortunately, let us tell the truth--the 1970's made consumerism fashionable. It was at that time that the garden plots, the summer houses, the coupons for automobiles began, and various interest groups became established. Can it be said that they are now no longer functioning?

Col W. Komarzanski: The youth, as has already been said, are very critical. We must not deprive them of these values. Except that when they come up against unfavorable occurrences, the young become inured. They see that parochialism still pays. I was always available. I never said "no". Wherever I was told to go I said, "Yes, sir", and I went. I did not serve in any garrison for more than four years. I accumulated a few beatup pieces of furniture. I am not complaining. I have one child because, after all, I was away for eight years. I did not want to talk about that lest it suggest that I am dissatisfied. Nevertheless, when I see that there are people who have served 36 years in the same garrison, and went from second lieutenant to colonel in the same building and are holding a high position in a given specialty, I begin to wonder whether that is right.

Another example. Two officers. They began their service in the regiment at the same time. After three years one of them without difficulty got himself sent to school. The other one decided, ahead of time, that he was not going to go to school. During the entire time he served in the same garrison. After 13 years both were majors. And how do they differ now? With different inputs of personal labor, to say nothing about certain sacrifices? Aside from one little star, they differ in nothing. Unless you consider that the one who sat in one place in the garrison has a cooperative apartment, good connections, automobile, garage, and easier work.

## The Beginnings of a Profession or Career

Col K. Czerwinski: Let us put forth the thesis: Society as a whole, and we in the army also, as a part of that society, have become smug. The ideas and attitudes which we espoused when we went into service are no longer as important. It has been said here that there are still connections and protection, although in documents and declarations they are being strongly fought. It turns out that in real life this is not really happening. Who is responsible for seeing to it that real life is like it is said in the declarations?

The mechanisms function the way the public allows them to function. Apparently there are still too few of those who would put up obstacles. You comrades have said that a young person sees and is brought up on these examples. If the father comes home and informs his wife how to get obtain something through devious means the young person listens and learns duplicity.

I would like to refer to the 16th Plenum. We need a return to healthy, moral workers' criteria. A person who has nothing to gain or lose, who has no influential backing, can only become indignant. If we take away those healthy reflexes, we will become even more smug. It seems to me that it is essential that we stress this healthy workers' morality. Although it is not always called by name, this healthy social instinct tells us to be sensitive to fairness.

Col H. Szkodziak: Our attitude, too, determines human relations and atmosphere. It is worth asking: where is the party organization, where is the secretary, the social-welfare commission, the leadership? I am the party organization secretary in an institution. I will honestly admit that there are some leaks of one kind or another, but it seems to me that much depends on us. We are afraid to speak out because something threatens us.

Col T. Badowski: What we have talked about so far is interesting. But perhaps we should now talk about how it was once and how it is now, particularly on the subject: How much did you get out of officers' school then and how much are the young people now getting out of the schools on questions of psychosocial preparation for military service? Can it be said, for example, that at one time the adaptation to professional military service took place more easily and quickly than today? With what kind of problems did the young second lieutenants have to cope at that time, and how is it today?

It was said here that the young are more commercialized, that they do not make themselves available, etc. I believe that the schools which educated you were able to create a greater willingness to take part in community activity, a readiness to comply with the requirements of service, to be more available. You said, after all, that you did not protest when you were sent to a "boondocks" garrison. Now some are protesting. But is it only this subject which comes into play, or are there other issues which basically differentiate the present starting conditions for today's young officers?

Col W. Komarzanski: We have prepared some analytical material titled "The Degree of Preparation of Officers' School Graduates for Their Profession."

Our observations show that today's officers' school graduate is less prepared to perform the function of a platoon commander than was the graduate of an officers' school in the past. He has too high an opinion of himself, sees himself at some high level. However, he does not know very well how to perform basic work, how to fulfill the duties of a platoon commander. And so today's graduates are not as well prepared to train their subordinates.

LtCol J. Nowacki: There are shortages of cadre in units. Sometimes a second lieutenant, after two months of service in a unit, is already assigned to the position of company commander. If he did not learn something in school he will not learn it now, and he will never make up the deficiencies. His scope of duties is different, his form of operation is different. Nor should we forget what kind of people go to officers' schools. I believe that from this standpoint our generation was better. Above all, there were no situations of this type: I went to officers' school because I didn't have anywhere else to go. The decisions then were deliberate. This happens sometimes today, but not always.

Col T. Badowski: How do you explain this? Is it an unwillingness or assume responsibility, or perhaps something else?

Col W. Komarzanski: That, whoever would want, I will not suggest. But at least he should possess the minimum personal traits and knowledge indispensable for a given position. Let us imagine a situation where we see such a person, he is suitable for a given position and we call upon him and he does not want it.

Col T. Badowski: Certainly such cases occur. Among civilian youth, too, an unwillingness to take positions involving greater responsibility occurs. But it is probably different in the army. That would be totally in conflict with the nature of the army, which as a hierarchical structure trains so that the cadre should want to assume higher positions and be promoted.

Col W. Komarzanski: I do not say that there is a general unwillingness to assume responsible positions. However, I see a lack of availability. Of course I will take a higher position, and very willingly, but only in this garrison, but a transfer somewhere else, no. Because the wife has a good job, he has a garden plot, a garage, etc.

Col Z. Czerwinski: It appears then that promotion in position and in military rank ceases to be competitive in relation to the other values which a person has selected.

But after all, in the "boondock" garrisons, positions are filled and not too many people make use of "influential persons," "connections," etc. People are sent out to the "boondocks" and serve there also. After all, that is where the army functions, in the "boondocks." So it probably is not all that bad.

Col W. Komarzanski: It seems to me that there should be a definite rule which would require that every young officer must serve three or five years in a distant garrison. The officer would know that it is only there that his career opens up for him.

Col H. Szkodziak: Much depends on the right cadre policy. At the last meeting, for example, one of our colleagues said that the people being sent to the Military Technical Academy or the General Staff Academy are the misfits, who do not fit into the unit. They return from the schools and then there are problems. To be sent to a school should be a distinction for an officer. That is what the book says, but in practice it is different. There are examples where someone was not sent to the General Staff Academy because he was needed in the unit.

Col T. Badowski: We are revealing nothing new here. The typical career path of a professional soldier is outlined in the principles of cadre policy, but the joke is that these principles are not always consistently observed in practice. Every one of us could cite examples confirming this. It is specified that for example there are so many platoon commanders and so many company commanders, etc. Of course, the man's predisposition, ability, and a blemish-free service record is taken into account. But maybe we should more rigorously enforce the implementation of provisions pertaining to promotions in positions and ranks.

#### What Makes Us Different, What Makes Us the Same?

LtCol J. Nowacki: I want to go back to the matter of "we and they." We are the older and experienced, they as the young coming to us. I have observed a certain difference in their mentality. The effect of many years of the mass media, parents, friends, colleagues, and school, is apparent. We had the ambition to change something, to bring something into the service from ourselves. At this time the ambitions of the young are not as great. They have less of a sense of honor, and sometimes even of courage. The young people are primarily trying to adapt themselves to existing conditions. When they come to new surroundings they observe who is connected with whom, and in what way. If they find that they cannot enter into "connections" they escape into matters of garden plots, etc. They lack resilience, the willingness to achieve the appropriate social status through their own actions and their own work. I see a tendency in certain young officers who graduate from the Military Technical Academy to slide into connections through, for example, a suitable marriage. We did not consider this. It never occurred to me when going with a girl that whether or not I liked her was not important but what kind of connections she could bring with her. Our mentality was probably different. Because, as someone already said, times were harder and we were trying to work our way up.

Col T. Badowski: It seems to me that we have made a very serious accusation at the younger generation, namely that they are opportunists. That is the case if we say that we were still revolutionary, that we wanted to change the world and our surroundings, and they only want to adapt, are searching for connections, the easy way out, that is, that they are opportunists. That is the name for it. Is that so?

LtCol J. Nowacki: Perhaps not the entire generation. I am speaking of certain facts.



Col Z. Czerwinski: If we are talking about reasons, then I agree. Opportunism first creates life and only then does something become imagined in the mind. For me, going to officers' school was an important social promotion. I did not seek influential persons to use as patrons because first, it was forbidden, and second, there were no such influential persons. And who then had patrons? In the countryside one person had a motor, and kept it in order to show off in front of the church.

LtCol K. Bartosz: It is hard for me to say what the adaptation of the present officer-graduates is, but by way of an analogy: Was any one of us sent immediately to a central institution? No one. We will started from the same point. Now it is the same. Col Komarzanski says that some slide through. These are exceptions which do not confirm the rule at all. Would it be hard for someone somewhere not slide through? There are no perfect situations. So what is the difference? We began from another point and they are beginning from still another one. So what is here is what was said a few moments ago: the wife chosen was not influential or wealthy but had other attributes. Automobiles? When I was assigned to a unit there were only three private automobiles.

The level of the school is certainly different. The school then, without taking anything away from today's, was a real military school. I repeat that I am not criticizing the program of today's higher officers' school. But by adding this one more year is the young officer as prepared as I would imagine?

The beginnings. Actually, the first years in a unit are only an experience in living for the young officer. In school we acquired a little knowledge and skill, but we did not learn military craftsmanship until we reached the unit. That is probably how it is today also.

There is no point in tilting at windmills. The young people have their rights just as we had ours. We, too, demanded many things. In any case, the best example is what we said 13 years ago.

Col H. Szkodziak: I did not meet with the opportunism spoken of. Everyone, young or old, has his ambitions. Much depends on the wisdom of the superiors. That is why a commander, in addition to knowing military craftsmanship, must also be a teacher and in addition to teaching the young officer military craftsmanship, must know how to instill in him a love for social and party activity, for work among the people and for the people. We, too, in school were not taught how to become socially active in the unit. We learned this thanks to the wisdom of our superiors. We will not change anything by complaints alone. Waiting until our young people begin to change also will change nothing.

Col T. Badowski: We spoke for some time about the differences in our beginnings, about the different conditions for adapting to military service. Now let us tell how we are similar and in what way we differ. Are there any basic differences between the young and the old in units?

Col W. Komarzanski: I personally do not see such differences. To a large degree this depends on the older cadre. After all, the youth come to us



as a blank sheet does, and we have to make the entries on it. On the other hand, if differences occur it is mainly our fault.

Col T. Badowski: I conclude from that that I was not right in making my answer so sharp during a certain phase of our talks. I am referring to the statement that we were the ones who were revolutionary and they have a tendency towards opportunism. This should be definitely rejected. Is that so?

LtCol K. Bartosz: The youth have a definite approach to a situation, just as we do. Everyone accepts facts for himself. Differences do not always have to be divisive. The young people see things from the standpoint at which they began their adult life. Others have different likes and dislikes. I, for example, do not like discotheque music because I like music that is quieter, or other things, and for the young that is all right.

Col Z. Czerwinski: At our previous meeting we discussed the young-old issue. Except for the fact that we were much younger. You have said that much depends upon us. Of course. The military youth have a right to make demands of us. We, as the superiors, have a duty to consider them. Obviously, looking at this more broadly, not all the demands are granted, but they must be considered when we make our decisions. For if a superior does not fulfill the anticipations of his subordinates he has lost from the very start.

Col H. Szkodziak: There must be a common understanding. For example, an officer separated from his family is entitled, according to an order of the Minister of National Defense, from one to five leave days. The superior should know the subordinate and his family situation. If he is not familiar with the fact that the officer has two children and a sick wife, and gives him three days of leave, including Sunday as one of them, then certainly this will immediately discourage the officer in everything. A very thick wall will arise between them.

Col W. Komarzanski: By what do we sometimes discourage young people? Among other things by the way we evaluate them, by decorations awarded without regard to service. We do not respect the attributes of the officer profession, which include promotions and decorations.

Col Z. Czerwinski: We said a little about promotions and decorations, and the most important matter, honor, was touched upon. Honor, courage, those are the qualities which we should nurture in our military community. What else, what moral qualities are worth of strengthening and passing on to our successors?

Col W. Komarzanski: I would add something very important--soldierly loyalty, with the comment--but not servility. In other words, purity of soldierly service, soldierly, professional loyalty. Loyalty not toward just any person, but to the superior who represents a specific position, a fully defined service function. And loyalty according to the rules recorded in the laws. And one more--modesty, courteous coexistence in the group. In a word, everything which is the antithesis of arrogance and presumptuousness.

LtCol A. Glock: Soldierly honor should be combined with a well-conceived professional ambition. For example: each year selections are made for the General Staff Academy. An officer, as a distinction, was sent by the district commander for studies in the General Staff Academy. If I were that officer I would kiss the district commander's hand. And yet what do we see? The officer sent to the academy as evidence of distinction resigns. Why? Because it does not pay for him to go to the school. And where is the ambition, the sense of honor?

There are officers who without any concern, without hesitation or thought, accept new positions offered them. I stopped to think about whether I would be able to fulfill the new duties. And now a mortar company commander after graduating from the academy wants to be the chief of staff of the regiment.

Col W. Komarzanski: Should we blame only this young person, when everywhere we say that a graduate of the military academy should go for such a position?

Col Z. Czerwinski: Unfortunately, our discussion is drawing to a close. We have expressed many subjective opinions, which do not always fit with reality. But that is the right of a discussion and the discussants. We shall try to return to these problems in our publications. We believe that the ideas presented here, both those approved and those inspiring disapproval, will be commented upon in letters to the editor. And so once more I must thank you for coming to us and actively participating in the discussion.

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CSO: 2600/385

## JERZY URBAN TAKES QUESTIONS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Oct 84 p 6

[Transcript of Jerzy Urban press conference for foreign press corps held on 16 October 1984 in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I have two questions. I saw in the communique of the Government Presidium that the government has decided to introduce some changes in the proposed Central Annual Plan [CPR] for the next year. The problem also concerns investment. Has the government decided to protect investment by enterprises at the expense of centrally funded investments? Can you provide some data concerning these changes?

I have a second question, which you already raised a few weeks ago, as did Chairman Jaskiernia when he talked about the possibility of dialogue between the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and the Clubs of Catholic Intelligentsia [KIK]. Could you tell us whether something is happening here, whether the KIKs agree to something like that? What do the authorities, or PRON, expect from such dialogue?

Another matter concerning Makron. A few days ago TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA printed interviews with some Makron employees. It seems that they indeed expected a visit by the prime minister on that day, and even admit that they cleaned up the place. Moreover, they also said that other enterprises in Katowice Province expected such a visit, and that cleaning took place there as well. But the prime minister never showed up. This happened, it seems, because provincial authorities warned the enterprises that the prime minister might appear there.

Jerzy Urban: I cannot give you details concerning the changes in the draft of the CPR because the Government Presidium has not made any changes in the project. The CPR will be adopted by the Council of Ministers only after consultations with the trade unions. At yesterday's meeting of the Government Presidium there was an exchange of views with regard to the work being done, but no final decisions were made. The Government Presidium only made an assessment of various tendencies in this area. There is a tendency to expand the scope of enterprise decisionmaking with regard to investment possibilities, but there is also another point of view which says that in this way investment plans are exceeded while the need to impose discipline on investment requires that it be concentrated in selected projects, in chosen directions.

What I said about the dialogue between the PRON and, for example, the Clubs of Catholic Intelligentsia was merely to point to the political possibility and need for such dialogue. What could one expect from such dialogue? To expand the scope of national accord, and to multiply the points of view on various key national issues with which PRON deals. One could possibly expect that new issues could be brought up by new participants in the discussion. Will this offer materialize? I do not know, one would have to ask PRON. In any case, I think that this is an important offer that should be taken up, but this requires that both sides be willing, not only PRON, which supported and accepted the offer in a press conference by its general secretary, Mr Jaskiernia.

I read the interviews with Makron employees. I would like to explain that Katowice authorities did not order enterprises to prepare for a visit by General Jaruzelski. It was simply known that a meeting of the Government Presidium would take place in June in Katowice Province, and that members of the Government Presidium, including General Jaruzelski, would be visiting some enterprises. Thus, some enterprises prepared for a possible visit, just in case. It was regrettable, but unavoidable, that most of them were disappointed. The visits were not prepared by the visitors themselves. Members of the Government Presidium, including General Jaruzelski, visited selected enterprises, and themselves decided at the last moment where they would go. Of course, there were more factories they did not visit than those that they did. As Makron's employees contend, there were some preparations prompted by the possibility of such a visit, but they have nothing in common with the description of preparations broadcast by Radio Free Europe, which mentioned strict regulations, passes, changing of clothes, etc. Simply, there was cleaning, cleaning just in case.

Miklos Gabor, NEPSZABADSAG: Mr Minister, I am interested in the development of Poland's relations with the IMF. Is there any change in this matter?

Jerzy Urban: No, I have nothing new to say in this matter. It is difficult to talk about the development of relations because they do not exist. Poland has submitted an application and nothing is happening in this matter. I can only comment as follows, that our entry into the International Monetary Fund may take place only on terms which would take into account the losses which the Polish economy suffered as a result of illegal sanctions. Within the framework of these terms we shall demand that the damages and losses suffered by Polish society as a result of sanctions applied by the United States and some other Western countries be recognized. When we learn these terms we shall ask Polish society whether it will accept them. When the issue comes up, the Polish Government will make a decision, but it will be in accord with the democratic will of our society. I will say openly that it is difficult to foresee the direction of this decision, it is difficult to foresee society's choice in this matter.

Miklos Gabor, NEPSZABADSAG: This means that one may expect social consultations or a referendum in this matter?

Jerzy Urban: It is hard to say what concrete form this would take, but at least social consultations of a very wide scope because we know from the

experience of other countries that conditions that are attached, not to the membership in fund itself but to loans, are sometimes contingent on certain promises which concern society. For example, such conditions involve the need to limit social programs, or the ways of setting prices, or deceleration of wage growth. All such matters require, in Polish conditions, very careful social consultations. But, really, talking about it is simply premature.

Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Does this mean, Mr Minister, that the Polish Government is weighing the possibility of withdrawing its application if the consultations show that society's attitude is negative?

Jerzy Urban: No, Poland is not withdrawing its application. But acceptance of any conditions, if it came to that, would require, first, that they be adjusted to Poland's special situation as a victim of illegal sanctions by some influential members of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and, second, in accordance with the principles of our policy, all obligations undertaken by Polish society in connection with possible credit terms--if we were to negotiate them--would require general social debate as well as a measurement of the extent of agreement by public opinion in Poland to any modification of policies concerning or affecting the standard of living and the conditions of life of Poles.

Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I am sorry, I think there is a misunderstanding. I was asking whether Poland would withdraw its application after the consultations if it turns out that the society does not approve such terms?

Jerzy Urban: It is hard for me to say whether Poland would withdraw its application to join the fund or would withdraw its request for loans. That's because the terms are set in connection with a request for loans, and not with joining that organization.

Bernard Margueritte, LE FIGARO: Mr Minister, a week ago RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote about a strange conflict between the government and the Prosecutor General's Office. If I understood it correctly, the government plenipotentiary for small-scale producers decided that the new legislation will permit foreign or Polonia enterprises to use some of the zloty profits for zloty investments in Poland. However, the Prosecutor General's Office made a statement and intervened--it does not agree. They decided that investment outlays of such foreign or Polonia enterprises must still come from a documented foreign currency exchange. I would like to ask, since this is very important for their activity, whether this controversy has been settled, or at least how it may be decided.

Jerzy Urban: I do not know this dispute. It is a very specialized affair. I cannot say. Of course, you can get information from the government plenipotentiary and from the prosecutor. If I understood what you summarized, the issue may be related to a phenomenon that we observed in analyzing the activity of Polonia firms, namely that their currency investment is very small, or that such foreign currency investment is largely, so to speak, an investment for consumption instead of production. It involves, for example, cars, apartments or furniture, rather than production equipment. Since the idea of allowing private, foreign enterprises had in mind the purpose of providing some modest additional inflow of foreign currency for production, it may be that the dispute has something to do with this problem.

[Question]: Thank you very much. Gentlemen, do you have any other questions for the minister? The reporter from the BBC.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: I would like to return to the birth rate. Could you tell us whether the increase noted in recent years is welcomed by the government or not?

Jerzy Urban: It is greeted with great satisfaction, although it imposes increased obligations on the government, the economy, and the entire society. Simply stated, this increase involves colossal costs which must be included in the whole socioeconomic game. Simply, the general increase of production, the general increase of economic opportunities, when divided per capita, becomes a smaller increase. Children cost not only the parents; they require medical facilities, kindergartens, schools, childcare payment for mothers.

As you know, we have paid childcare leave that can extend up to three years. So we do not conceal that this development, joyful in the long run, i.e., the increase in the birth rate, the increase in the number of Poles, is not, in the present, still difficult economic situation, without negative consequences for our current standard of living. The thinking of the average Pole is that he believes that it is worth bearing this cost. The government shares that belief. However, the average Pole often forgets about the increased economic burden when he talks about wages, prices, the standard of living. Simply, he is happy because of the increased birth rate, and, separately, forgets about the burden of the birth rate on the balance of goods available for distribution.

12503

CSO: 2600/108

POLONIA TRADE GROUP ELECTS LEADER, EYES INDUSTRY FUTURE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Ch): "Difficult Choice of Leader; General Meeting of Inter-Polcom; Deputy Jadwiga Lokkaj Elected Chairman of the Main Board"]

[Text] Even before Jean Zarzecki, the vice chairman of the Main Board, opened the long-delayed Sixth General Meeting of the Inter-Polcom Polish-Polonia Industry and Trade Chamber, the participants could find, among the materials distributed to them, some very critical comments concerning the new by-laws proposed by the outgoing board. The point was that they were written by Jean Zarzecki, the vice chairman of that board.

However, for anyone who expected that the by-law issue, which will determine the shape of the organization uniting Polonia-owned enterprises, as well as the very model of such enterprises in Poland, would dominate because of a connection with well-known controversies, the debate was full of surprises. Substantive discussion yielded to procedural considerations, but even introductory remarks by members of the outgoing board contained interesting appraisals and very important comments aiming to get Polonia enterprises to function for the benefit of our economy as well as the profit of their owners.

Alas, the procedure was troublesome. First, the membership adopted the proposed rules of debate, but 15 minutes later the very same body voted to change those rules completely. Following a motion from the floor, a decision was made to elect the chairman first, rather than on the second day of the meeting, and then other members of the board as well. The greatest surprise for the gathering occurred when an owner of a Polonia enterprise ceded his mandate to Sejm Deputy Jadwiga Lokkaj. She accepted the mandate and a moment later was invited to sit at the dais.

The transfer of the mandate was preceded by a description of her achievements and an enumeration of the high positions she holds in economic organizations. Following several speeches delivered by members of the outgoing board, there was a motion from the floor to elect Deputy Lokkaj chairman of the Main Board of the chamber. It was pointed out that first she would have to be a member. Consequently, various forms of conferring membership status on her were discussed; one proposal suggested that Jadwiga Lokkaj be admitted as a corporate member, provided, however, that Spolem join as a member of Inter-Polcom.

Jadwiga Lokkaj replied that she could not undertake such an obligation on behalf of that cooperative association. It was then decided, after numerous consultations with the legal counsel, to pass a resolution admitting Deputy Lokkaj as a member of the chamber, even though she is not an owner or a plenipotentiary of a Polonia enterprise. Election results, announced after the lunch break, were greeted with applause. It turned out that Deputy Lokkaj was elected chairman by a majority. One should add that she was the only candidate since others withdrew for a variety of reasons.

Procedural matters limited the time available for substantive debate, but a few voices did address themselves to the essence of the issue. First of all, it was pointed out that the 8-year existence of Polonia firms, after the initial period of enchantment and, later, total criticism, has entered a period of realism. It is projected that by the end of the current year about 700 Polonia enterprises, employing about 30,000 people, will achieve sales of 80 billion zlotys, including \$20 million worth of exports. It can be stated that among our small producers a type of enterprise with the participation of foreign capital has been established. This development has brought about many unquestionable benefits, but they were accompanied by several negative phenomena which met with social criticism.

In the future it will be essential to work out a model of a small foreign enterprise and to establish rules which would permit the shaping of their activities in accordance with the needs of the country and create sufficient incentives for the owners. As Stanislaw Szewczyk said, the period when it was possible to operate with slogans has ended. Concrete measures are needed now for these enterprises to exist. Someone repeated from the dais the headline of an article in ZYCIE WARSZAWY stating that sheep should be sheared so that their skin is not damaged.

Tax and currency exchange matters dominated the debate. As one of the participants said, the firms are criticized for failing to import machines and equipment. But nobody pays attention to the fact that very often they cannot obtain import licenses.

In conclusion, the first day of the meeting passed on discussion of procedural matters and general remarks about the conditions of Polonia enterprises. There was no time for a comprehensive debate of the by-laws which will determine the role and the shape of the chamber. Perhaps this omission will be corrected during the second day of the meeting. However, after a long period when Inter-Polcom had no chief, it succeeded in getting a leader of the first day.

12503

CSO: 2600/108



## ADMISSION STANDARDS FOR PEASANT, WORKER STUDENTS DEBATED

## Preferential Point System

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 38, 19 Sep 84 pp 3,8

[Article by Jacek Wojciechowski: "Before Singing Gaudeamus"]

[Text] Preference points or points for studying well? Equal opportunity or a knockout? Is studying at all worthwhile? The discussion on recruiting students for study programs extends to broad circles, for the issue is important and complex. To put it clumsily--it is controversial. Thus, the discussion too is controversial and so are the two articles that follow.

Before they let you sing Gaudeamus, you must pass through the Golgotha of the secondary school certificate examination, the entrance examinations and the secret rites of the totaling of qualifying points. This Golgotha and these rites have stirred up a discussion that, in all likelihood, will make an ellipse and return to its beginning.

## Missing the Point

Let us not be misled into thinking that the entire discussion from beginning to end is about the procedure for acceptance into higher studies. If this article is intended for adults, then it must be stated clearly that the premise for initiating the discussion and its partial objective was and is the desire to call to task an unsubmitive and unruly intelligentsia. This is as though a submissive and well-behaved intelligentsia could really exist.

What is worse is that the discussion is a surrogate, something "instead of," and thus a sham. The reason is that at this time, Poland's number one problem is not even the social and economic crisis, not even inflation and the foreign-exchange debt, but the regress of education at all levels. We produce half-educated people in elementary school, secondary school and in the higher schools. The level of education worldwide is passing us by riding an express train and we are tailing it on bicycles, pedaling fast to keep up. In 10 or 15 years, the consequences will be evident and this is a real worry, not a pretend problem of recruitment for study programs.

Meanwhile, since the problem is artificial, we tend to make snap decisions regarding it. On even-numbered days we say that we have too many people in the higher schools, while on odd-numbered days, there are too few. Anyone that recalls that in the schools, almost 40,000 (!) teachers are teaching with no preparation, with only a secondary school certificate, anyone that thinks of the long lines in doctor's offices, even in the big cities, has to cover his ears on even-numbered days.

Or, to take another tack, we are constantly hearing about the small percentage of worker-peasant youth in the higher schools. While this may be true, it is difficult to verify (in statements, the percentage ranges from 2 percent to 20 percent, and thus there is a complete lack of accuracy). There is, however, a proposal for making fairer counts by comparing the student population with the total population of Poland in terms of origins, but this refers only to those between the ages of 20 and 25 that have completed secondary school. Perhaps then the relative proportions will be less shocking and nearer the truth. "Statistical" demagoguery has a certain tradition in Poland.

Finally, many people pretend to be surprised that the children of workers and peasants do not wish to go to the higher schools. Why should they want to? Should they attend with the status of second-class citizens and with stipends that are lower than those of cleaning ladies? Meanwhile, higher school studies mean plugging away 12 hours a day and direct or indirect allusions to freeloading and discomania of which people are only too eager to accuse students. And where are the out-of-towners supposed to live, in the conjured-up glass houses for students? Instead they have a part of a hut, ground rent on an inferior piece of land after a year and a wife that has a fit every time you sneeze too loud. So those that are surprised are really pulling your leg.

Certainly, there are many rational arguments and opinions, but these are hidden in trade publications and do not form the consciousness. Meanwhile, the frame of mind is excellent there where the people know the least. For the rule is that he that knows nothing hollers the loudest, for he has neither questions nor doubts. I know nothing, therefore I know everything.

Once Andrzej Mleczko wrote, "Citizen, don't blab nonsense." He had a good point.

Hence the protests against the Senior Citizen's University, a lovely gift from the hearts of academics, apparently intending to improve the situation in higher schools. Clearly, those protesting have no idea what they are arguing about, but they are making a big issue about it. Citizen...

Then there is the engineer that wants preferential treatment for a study program for his son and discourses at length on what a prize this is. But engineers' children are not given preferences--clearly he does not know this--and every reporter in the world could tell him--that is, every reporter but one on TV. Too bad. It would be interesting to see how fast the fellow talks his way out of the situation he bungled just a few minutes before.

## Equalization

In recruitment for higher education, the term "preferences" came to be used in time during the critical periods of protest and pressure, when talk about the increase in internal conflicts became more intense. Meanwhile, in periods of calm, people talk about equal opportunity, and not without reason. The sad but true conclusion that one school is not equal to another and that one town is not equal to another has materialized into the so-called points for one's origin.

Equalization points, that in times of tension have been turned into repressive points, were aimed against the intelligentsia and their kind. In this way the dogs of war and the battle-axe were buried, only to be dug up each year or even more often, for mock battles.

They are mock battles because the intelligentsia, a group with a complex genesis and very complex structure, does not have a class nature and whoever identifies it with the bourgeoisie, the nobility, the aristocracy commits a boorish abuse. A member of the intelligentsia is neither the owner nor the lessee of the means of production; therefore, like everyone else, he sells his labor and buys goods produced by others in exchange. Thus, there is no structural, class source of conflict between the intelligentsia and those that are not members of the intelligentsia. Someone has invented this animosity, giving points for one's origins as a weapon against the intelligentsia.

If such points must exist (there are massive protests against them), then they are added not for origins, but for one's inferior start obtained in provincial (pardon the expression) high schools. This is with the complete awareness that this is only a pretense, since these points do not compensate for the shortage of spaces in dormitories and they stop being figured in when the first session of classes has ended. Meanwhile, a half-year for making up one's gaps is like shortening the day to 2 hours. Thus, in reality the points serve primarily to quiet the consciences of those that award them.

For this reason it is said that the points are an evil, but a momentarily necessary one. While it is true that they are an evil and while it is perhaps even true that they are necessary, their temporary nature is fictional. The points are temporary (and immortal), just like a barracks--set up 30 years ago for a year and still functioning.

Someone sensibly asks: why are they an evil? That is easily explained. Here I am, lying in a hospital and waiting for a risky operation. Meanwhile, a nurse with whom I have become acquainted explains that the surgeon was accepted for studies not because of his skill, but because he was spotted points... Need I go further?

If we exclude one's own relatives, then surely we all would want the grapefruit sorter to let the good and the best students pass through into study programs. However, for this purpose, in addition to testing knowledge and skill, we also need tests of capability, talent and inclination that are indispensable in a given specialization. But tests are expensive and they still do not yield guarantees. Thus, instead of expensive, chancy tests, we have chosen also chancy but free points.

But everything that is free, for nothing, gratis contains the poisonous seeds of demoralization. It is possible to request what is your due without lifting a finger.

And so the engineer mentioned previously misled readers, telling them that he is unable to support his son in preparing for studies like his father, a clerk, did. This is the height of absurdity! An engineer earns three times as much as a penpusher in an office, and he cannot afford books for his son or private tutoring? And can a penpusher afford this? Another thing: why cannot an engineer help his own son with mathematics, physics and chemistry? Because points are spotted for one's family background.

Not only are the points calculated ineffectively, but the principles of awarding them also are illogical. For example, the son of a Warsaw chauffeur, a graduate of an exclusive high school, receives points for his family background. But the daughter of a rural letter carrier in an area so rural that not even the devil has anyone to talk to does not receive any points because a letter carrier is a member of the intelligentsia. Ridiculous, is it not?

Despite a million doubts, the awarding of a small number of equal opportunity points to those that graduate from high schools outside large urban areas seems just. We repeat, a small number--making it a competition based on points and not a knockout.

#### Based on Points

Among the recommendations made for updating the points system, the most frequent suggestion is that 14 to 25 percent of the points obtained in the entrance exam be spotted for family background. This seems to be a high percentage, for it is a high percentage. Nonetheless, it is still less than is granted at present, since the hitherto existing system is unjust and illogical.

At the present time, a significant number of points is awarded for family background, regardless of exam results. If it is possible to obtain a maximum of 31 points for knowledge, i.e., for optimal results in the exam and the best marks in the last 2 years of high school, then should 8 or 26 points be awarded for background or physical labor engaged in prior to entrance into higher studies? But the most telling point is the fact that the number of points spotted for background exceeds the number of points awarded for a grade of "very good" in the foreign language entrance exam.

By comparison with "very good" exam results, the points for family background represent only 18 percent of the value, but for a candidate to "ace" everything in an unfamiliar setting, confronted with unfamiliar criteria, he would have to be better than an Einstein. Compared with marks of "good" (and only the best students pass all their exams with a "good" grade), the family background points represent only 31 percent, but compared with a "satisfactory" evaluation, the points are 56 percent of the total point value!

A candidate receiving a "satisfactory" grade that is spotted points for family origins and physical labor receives 17 points, while someone that receives a "good" grade is awarded only 16 points. This is not equal opportunity, it is pushing mediocrity at the expense of diligence, with the result that later we are unable to become skillful in producing that for which we have purchased licenses.

A parenthetical question: why do we still have the relict of points for physical labor? This principle was introduced long ago "as a penalty," and it still exists as such. It is high time we stopped this pretense.

Obviously, there is no doubt that those that are the most able should finish their studies, hence the results of entrance exams and high school grades should be the basis of recruitment. However, those that have graduated from small town high schools should be awarded an equalizing bonus of 10 percent of the points they have obtained on their entrance examination.

#### Knockout

In addition to those backing the equalization points, there are those that favor the knockout. Whom should we knock out? Obviously, the eggheads, the stinking intelligentsia, the pesky penpushers, or more precisely, their obstreperous progeny.

One of the official variants offering solutions suggests an absolute precedence in acceptance for studies of worker-peasant youth, leaving others to compete for those places that are left. If only we knew the name of the fellow that conjured up this idea--like Herostrates, his name may go down in history. The idea is glaringly at odds with the foundations of our system and with the Constitution. Despite this, it has become public knowledge. Does not respect for basic law bind everyone?

The proponents of these and other, similarly rigid solutions have overlooked a few "details." The first nuance--more than half of the young eggheads are the sons and daughters of eggheads, true, but they are the grandchildren of farmers and workers. Immediately after the war, today's grandparents killed themselves working in the mills and the fields so that they could send their children to higher schools, so now their grandchildren spit on them because this has made them lose their opportunity to attend higher schools. They are paying dearly for the advancement of their father's generation.

The second nuance is based upon the consideration of whose children would be deprived largely of opportunities for being accepted into higher schools. The list includes teachers, engineers and militiamen, letter carriers and the military, clerks, agronomists and employees in the political apparatus, journalists, scientific employees, physicians--the list is an endless one. Are we trying to make shoemakers of almost half of society?

Man is able to withstand a poor salary and miserable means of sustenance, in addition to hundreds of other lesser or greater troubles and worries. But he treats discrimination against his own child as a signal for a fight.

Thus, if there were still only a few troubles, the promotion of equally extreme ideas would be the best way of causing an upheaval.

### The Third Path

Still other solutions that are completely different and radically innovative have been suggested for a long time. For example, it is proposed that entrance examinations be dropped, the points system be abandoned and that anyone that wants to be accepted for a so-called zero semester. Then, over this 5-month period, it will be possible to verify much more carefully which candidates are really worthwhile. It is a lovely, wonderfully logical, democratic formula with only one drawback: it is unrealistic.

Here are a few (simple) questions. Namely, we will lengthen the study program by a half-year, creating an educational program of record length. Who will bear the costs of this, the empty state treasury once again? Where are the teachers for this method, the classrooms and the dormitories? According to these principles, the zero semester in medical academies would preclude the possibility of conducting classes for senior citizens, due to a shortage of rooms and lecturers.

Thus this impressive formula is the song of the future--the distant future.

### Mystification

All these notions, sensible and deficient, logical and absurd have the common shortcoming that they turn attention away from the heart of the matter. The discussion of recruitment for studies and points takes on the character of a mystification. The discussants argue about how fast they should ride across a weak bridge or how they should make tea in a leaky teapot. It is a senseless quarrel.

The misunderstanding is based upon the fact that the level of teaching, knowledge and technology is contingent not only upon the higher educational institution, but upon the entire system of education. It is not the case that we can have poor elementary and secondary schools and expect a sensational higher school to train excellent masters in their areas. It cannot be!

For everyone, the basic framework of knowledge is formed in the elementary and secondary school in 12 years of learning. During the 5 years of higher school study, it is possible to utilize, enrich and develop this knowledge, but it cannot be supplanted, revised or replenished. It is enough to compare the proportions: 5 years and 12 years.

Thus, if we complain about the level of technology and knowledge, if more and more people are saying science in Poland is beginning to lag behind world science, then our claims cannot be addressed to higher schools alone. The causes go deeper than this.

Our educational system is not uniform--we speak of equal opportunity points and inferior beginnings. Meanwhile, these inferior beginnings are the daily

reality of of rural and small town high schools, where there is often a teacher shortage and conditions are not the best. These inferior beginnings are the cramped conditions of rural and small town libraries, where not another book can be stuffed in, the roof leaks and sometimes in winter your saliva freezes. Is knowledge to be gotten from the air?

People have been talking about all this, as they have about recruitment for higher education, for dozens of years. But that is as far as it has gotten. Thus, is it not possible to ensure adequate learning conditions in the several hundred "provincial" secondary schools and to give the teachers a few pennies extra (and not the laughable 10 percent) to bring the best ones in? Let us stop this idle talk, for we will talk ourselves to death.

Another thing: our entire educational system is coming undone. Right after the war, it seemed that we were catching up with the rest of the world, despite the destruction--but good intentions alone sufficed then--and now we are lagging behind again. The world is passing us by on an express train where the driving force is information science and computerization, creating a technological barrier that cannot be overcome.

It is a completely different way of learning, studying and doing scientific work, one suited for the 21st century. But in Poland, beyond the fact that the prototype of a KOMPAN computer has been demonstrated (it is a step in the right direction, but the reporters conducting the broadcast did not understand this), no one takes such stories seriously. Then how are we to "get our act together" for this next century?

That is the question worth reflecting upon. We should not continue talking about how to recruit students for higher education. The solution of this problem returns to the starting point anyway.

#### Equality in Lower Education

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Wieslaw S. Debski: "Let There Be Real Justice"]

[Text] Let there be justice, some people say. Then they add: those students should be accepted into higher schools that have passed the entrance exam with the highest marks. Let there be justice, others say, proposing equal educational opportunity for those young people that, for various reasons, have not had an equal opportunity for attaining knowledge.

The discussion that has been taking place for several months regarding the system of acceptance for higher educational programs has evoked much emotion. And emotion is not always accompanied by common sense. Such has been the case here. Instead of considering whether all Polish youth really have the same, or at least similar opportunities for studying in a program of higher education, instead of asking what must be done so that talent is not wasted,

people sometimes try to make it look as though consultations build a wall between the intelligentsia and the other social strata, they try to defend their own positions and they make use of demagoguery.

The so-called preferential points have come to be the major issue. In my opinion, it is fruitless to consider whether someone should be spotted 5 or 10 points, 15 or 25 percent.

### Three Questions

In my opinion, the basic questions should be the following: what do we mean by a just system of acceptance into study programs? Do all young people have an equal opportunity for acceptance into these programs? If not, then how are we to make these opportunities equal?

In issue No 38 of POLITYKA, Daniel Passent wrote: "In the consciousness of working people, justice is understood not by one form of privilege or another for some people and by blocking others, but by creating equal opportunity. This is a healthy, natural tendency that is consistent with the ideals of socialism, whereas discriminating against children of even the first generation of the intelligentsia is artificial today, especially since earnings are not commensurate with education; moreover, the intelligentsia has not been associated with the moneyed classes for a long time."

This is an example of the thinking on the principle of social justice commonly found among certain groups of the intelligentsia. Of course, it is confined to the issue of acceptance into study programs, since on other issues we do not always abide by the principle of equality dogmatically (for example, additional living space for scientific and cultural employees, for they work at home, an 18-hour work week for teachers, etc., etc....).

Thus, if we talk about the ideal of socialism, let us keep in mind that in our system, we aim at ensuring all citizens the possibility of education at every level, regardless of social origins, family circumstances and material situation.

In my opinion, that is how we are to understand the application of the principle of social justice on this issue. If we agree with scholars that ability is not dependent upon social origins and that talent is distributed uniformly among all social groups and milieus, and if we compare this with the social makeup of students in liberal arts high schools and higher schools, we must note that we have not succeeded in implementing in full this principle of our system. After the clear successes of the first postwar years, since the mid-1960's the access of worker and peasant youth to higher schools has been restricted. In a move to change this situation, our state initiated the preferential points system for these young people. I agree that this attempt has not been entirely successful. However, this does not mean that we should not seek new solutions.



## Forcing Happiness?

In discussions in the press and elsewhere, it is often maintained that the authorities wish to force happiness on youth hailing from worker and peasant communities, since they prefer to go into a trade and earn money rapidly instead of toiling to gain knowledge and barely making ends meet when they have completed their studies.

Jacek Wojciechowski writes in TU I TERAZ (18 September 1984): "Finally, many people pretend to be surprised that the children of workers and peasants do not wish to go to the higher schools. Why should they want to? Should they attend with the status of second-class citizens and with stipends that are lower than those of cleaning ladies?"

But my dear sir, our children are going to higher schools. Are they not? It would be surprising if the son of a journalist became a locksmith. Moreover, the earnings of locksmiths also range widely. Some try to prove that an occupational caste system is an advantage, that the family tradition, the passing on of an intelligentsia heritage and profession serve the development of Polish society. Rubbish. Our party must struggle against such a notion, it must aim continually to penetrate the social classes and enable the children of workers and peasants to enter the ranks of the intelligentsia. This is not only because in this way the principles of social justice are implemented, but also because it will make the new intelligentsia feel particularly obliged to be concerned about the interests of the class from which they originate. It is also because this proverbial "intermingling of blood" prevents people from closing themselves up in their own shells and keeps ties from breaking among the various social strata.

This is how Andrzej Lisiak from Pleszew put it in a letter to the editor: "Now, when we observe more and more often an aim to pass on what one has learned to the next generation, when the children of actors are becoming actors and the children of engineers are becoming engineers, we cannot consent to a practice whereby the children of workers have only the right to become workers and the children of peasants have only the right to become farmers... While I do not wish to argue from too lofty a standpoint, history has shown us time and time again that entire states have fallen for the reason alone that they were not built upon the best people, but upon dynasties."

Those opposing preferences for worker-peasant youth argue their case in many ways. One of their common arguments is the extremely cynical notion expressed by the previously quoted Jacek Wojciechowski: "Here I am, lying in a hospital and waiting for a risky operation. Meanwhile, a nurse with whom I have become acquainted explains that the surgeon was accepted for studies not because of his skill, but because he was spotted points..." This brings to mind the saying of Doctor Strossmayer, well-known to television watchers, on stupidity and the pigeon.

Thus far in our system of acceptance into higher schools, all the best students (those that receive an average grade of 4.25 or 4.5 on the entrance exam) are admitted. Preference points determine which students whose performance on the

exam was average will be accepted into higher schools. And everyone that uses the argument just spoken of knows (since he probably has had a higher education) that the culprit that receives a "good" grade on the exam does not always have a greater store of knowledge than someone with a "satisfactory" grade.

#### Knowledge Is Still the Determinant

At the same time, the experiences of university teachers show that rural and worker youth are in no way less motivated for studies and that by the 3rd year, more or less, the disproportions in the level of knowledge occurring at the time of the entrance exam disappear. Moreover, the figures show that, while for the years 1944-1973 the overall efficiency of studies was 71.9 percent for all students, for peasant youth it was 78.2 percent. Those children of peasants and workers that struggle through the first year for the most part complete their studies with positive results. And they are more likely to take a job in an outlying area.

That is another problem. We have in Poland a strange situation: in large cities, the graduates of higher schools fruitlessly seek work in line with their education, while in rural areas and small towns, there is a shortage of doctors, teachers, engineers--the list is long. It is worthwhile considering who will be more willing to work in Szczecbrzeszyn, for example, a student from Warsaw or one from Szczecbrzeszyn itself?

#### Unequal Opportunity

Do all young people have an equal opportunity to get into higher schools? Most people agree that in Poland there are many obstacles restricting the possibility of getting an education, both due to social background, place of residence and material and cultural conditions. We too agree that these inequalities arise in elementary and secondary school (Andrzej Nierychlo has written about this extensively in issue No 39 of the weekly ITD [And So Forth]). However, there is also the sort of opinion expressed by our reader Jan Rawicki from Kielce: "Children in the schools are not divided into peasant class, working class and intelligentsia--they all draw knowledge in the same way and no division into the smarter and the undereducated is apparent." Recently, I had an opportunity to examine a register from the second grade of one of the Warsaw elementary schools. It shows a close connection between performance in school and the level of parents' education. And a teacher from this class could explain at length what link there was between the performance of a student and the help his parents gave him in his schoolwork. Eligiusz Iwanski from Olsztyn adds in a letter to us: "There are differences emanating from one's milieu. They are based on the fact that, under our conditions, a peasant or a worker that has an inferior basic education and, generally, a larger family, is not in a position during the course of everyday, home training of his children to develop all of the child's abilities, predispositions or talents, to care for and foster their development.

"The situation is different in an intelligentsia family where there is one child or there are two children. There it is 'good form,' the parental duty, to pave the way for one's child, not necessarily because he is able, but based on the principle of 'the road to higher studies.'" Thus, it is not so

that equally capable children attending the same school will attain the same results in their schoolwork. And they certainly will not always make the same decisions regarding continuing their education.

Thus, if we agree that young people from various social and territorial environments should be given equal access to higher studies and that the conditions for acquiring knowledge are not equal, there remains the question:

What Should We Do?

The correct answer is the answer given by those that say that we must provide the same level of teaching in elementary and secondary schools and increase the educational aspirations of worker and peasant youth and the like. This is a multiyear task. That is why we must take action today aimed at giving everyone an equal opportunity on the entrance examination.

It is too bad that the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology restricted the scope of consultation to the method of acceptance into higher education. In my opinion, this document should be accompanied by two other ones: one including the methods of improving the conditions of the start in life and in a profession of higher school graduates and another one outlining a program for equalizing the level of education in Poland.

The first document, containing the prospects for equalizing the wage and housing potential of higher school graduates with that of their colleagues that have completed trade and secondary schools, should include clear principles of a cadre policy that takes into consideration the proper utilization of people with a higher education perhaps would help to encourage young people to go into study programs.

The second document should encompass proposals of activities for the present (higher wages for teachers working in rural areas, a suitable system of stipends in education and the like) and future (a larger number of liberal arts schools in rural areas, the expansion of the boarding school network, the development of culture and the awakening of cultural needs in rural areas and in small towns and the like) that over the perspective of a dozen or so years would enable us to resolve the problem in a natural way.

Perhaps then the entire consultation would have proceeded in a different way. Too often participants in the discussion stated that educational opportunities must be made uniform throughout the entire educational system. The end. Period. And what about today?

In my opinion, today we must eliminate the inequalities in the level of a student candidate's knowledge that have arisen earlier during the entrance exam. The principle of reducing these disproportions should remain in effect for as many years as are projected for the implementation of the two previously noted programs. This could have been a general recommendation emanating from the consultations; of course, a large number of detailed solutions is possible--from the zero year, to preparatory courses to equal opportunity points.

For example, preference points may be spotted to those worker and peasant youth that come from areas where there is a shortage of cadres with a higher education (the list of such areas is drawn up annually) if they are competing to be accepted in a field where there is a shortage of graduates in their home town. These young people may be obliged to return to their home town upon completing their studies. The graduates of technical high schools may be spotted preference points if they wish to continue studying in their specialization. There are many possibilities. But while the proposals are numerous, detailed decisions on this issue should not be subject to a nationwide referendum, but should be considered carefully by experts and specialists that will take into account the possible consequences of every decision.

In summary, I favor universal equal opportunity for young people in education. I say this even though I am aware that it will make it more difficult for my children to get into higher schools. However, justice dictates it.

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## CATHOLIC ARTICLE ON PLURALISM ATTACKED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 45, 28 Oct 84 p 15

[Article by J.N.: "Against Insinuations of Indifference"]

[Text] Among the most interesting publications that recently have appeared in Catholic periodicals I would assign top billing to Zygmunt Lichniak's article, "At the Heart of the Principle of Pluralism." It was published this year in the monthly KULTURA, OSWIATA I NAUKA, Number 5.

We can omit in this review the portion of Z. Lichniak's piece pertaining to those issues essentially familiar to the readers of ARGUMENTY. These omitted items include definitions establishing the meaning of concepts such as the philosophy of life, universal philosophy, pluralism, etc. I will permit myself the consideration of those portions pertaining to the place and role of Catholic and Christian religious philosophy.

However, Z. Lichniak's reflections direct our attention to the relationship of philosophy, which can be perceived in the intellectual milieu and which is expressed by the artist's opinion that "philosophy affronts the mind, squeezes the imagination into a straightjacket of rules; philosophy is an attack on my independence, a trap in which susceptibility and dissimilarity form a spectre of uniformization."

Z. Lichniak writes further that "...the motives of distrust toward philosophical ambitions can be--and certainly are--less noble and more doubtful in their origins, awakening greater distrust. It happens, after all, that this or that intellectual (and sometimes we use the term 'intellectual' loosely) simply assumes airs, sulks at the representative of this or that philosophy, poses as 'one above philosophy' in the name of a specific intellectual coterie. The motive of distrust toward philosophical arrangements can also be imparted by some 'anti-' or 'supraphilosophers' for their specific intellectual comfort in order not to utter a harsher avoidance of effort. Indeed, there is nothing easier than accepting the half-joking or half-cynical convention of the exceedingly humorous and seemingly extremely intelligent scoffers who like to tell us: 'Don't be so fundamental' or 'Why this dogmatism?' Their language of ridiculing principles and leaders is one of the forms

of manifesting their superiority--God, it is regrettable--over the 'slaves of philosophies.' They would certainly be forgiven if they did not know what they were doing. But surely a good number of them know what they are doing by their indifference. They are impoverishing themselves and--indirectly--that which constitutes culture as the bonum commune."

From only a partially presented evaluation of negated attitudes Z. Lichniak links the opinion about the importance of philosophies and their arguments, which are presented as follows: "At any rate, one thing seems certain: for the richness and authenticity of cultural life, for the genuineness of the developmental processes of culture, for the veracity of their links with the needs of the individual and the human community the philosophical argument is better and more creative, as is the clash of philosophies, than is the attempt to flee from them into alleged independence. In this case the principle of pluralism can also be considered an obligatory postulate of such participation in the formation of choices and cultural situations which, in view of all the differences among philosophies, even put mutually contradictory philosophical inspirations ahead of accidental impulses of indifference removed from the hierarchy of values. Indifference, insensibility to the motivations of philosophical inspirations expresses its own peculiar lack of faith in the worth of the individual and the human community and reduces culture to the level of motivationless or accidental effects, behavior or work. In view of the creative philosophical principle, even radically divergent philosophies are, therefore, closer to each other than the false and uncreative insinuations of philosophical indifference. One could say that in a properly undertaken cultural strategy an offensive and defensive alliance in the face of suggestions of indifference links these divergent philosophies in all their dissimilarity."

Incidentally, I would be inclined to recall that such demarcation lines against the background of the role of a philosophy of life and philosophical indifference have already been drawn in Poland for many years. Especially in the late 1950's and early 1960's an attempt was made simply according to plan, and not only individually but in an organized manner, to impose on the state and the social movement the tactic of philosophical and especially of religious indifference. Later these same forces fostered the birth of the phenomenon of indifference toward Marxist philosophy. With this, the principle of indifference changed its function from a tactical to a strategic one. I suppose that the memory of the experiences of those years and of the fronts which broke down rigid divisions into believers and nonbelievers and led to another one of the spokesmen for the expanded role of philosophy in the lives of people and society and of the proponents of all manner of philosophical indifference; and so the memory of these facts entered the present-day tradition of philosophical culture.

Z. Lichniak devotes a considerable portion of his article to the issues of the relationship of the church to philosophy, to the problems of dialogue and especially the dialogue of value systems, to the problems

of tolerance, to the questions of the Christian version of dialogue. In this connection one of the parts of Lichniak's article was entitled "The Church in the Era of Dialogue." These are the sections in which Z. Lichniak effects a positive reconstruction of the evaluation of the view of the papacy of dialogue. In this connection he devotes the most attention to Pope Paul VI, author of the encyclical "Ecclesiam suam" (which opened his pontificate and was therefore programmatic), an encyclical also called one about dialogue. The last fragment of Lichniak's article bears the title "Recollections To Settle the Conscience." In it Z. Lichniak poses a question about the realization of the papal instructions regarding the questions of dialogue "...in the practice of Polish cultural life by Catholics and Christians themselves." The dynamics of the church in Poland and all of its component elements "should serve to expand the platform of dialogue, to deepen the attitudes of dialogue." But, asks Z. Lichniak, "do we really observe such functioning of philosophical inspiration? Does the tendency become widespread to open attitudes undertaking dialogue with others, especially in Catholic circles and at their initiative? Does the will make itself felt to reach an understanding in matters of mutual concern? Does perhaps something contrary happen: enclosing oneself in an overbearing monologue, monopoly of the laws or privileges as if solely of the correct attitude of haughty silence, which allegedly is to guard the trust fund of reserved rights and moral superiority exclusively for one side? Are the words of the encyclical 'Ecclesiam suam,' which speaks about dialogue as an impulse of love, incorporated with complete dedication by Polish Catholics into Polish life and into the developmental processes of our culture?"

Although Z. Lichniak writes that "it is not permissible to pass over such questions in silence, although one should not hastily give generalized replies," I take the liberty of opining that the replies already are encoded in the questions themselves. If, despite this, dialogue is seriously considered by the author of the publication under discussion, then this can be regarded as an optimistic fact.

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